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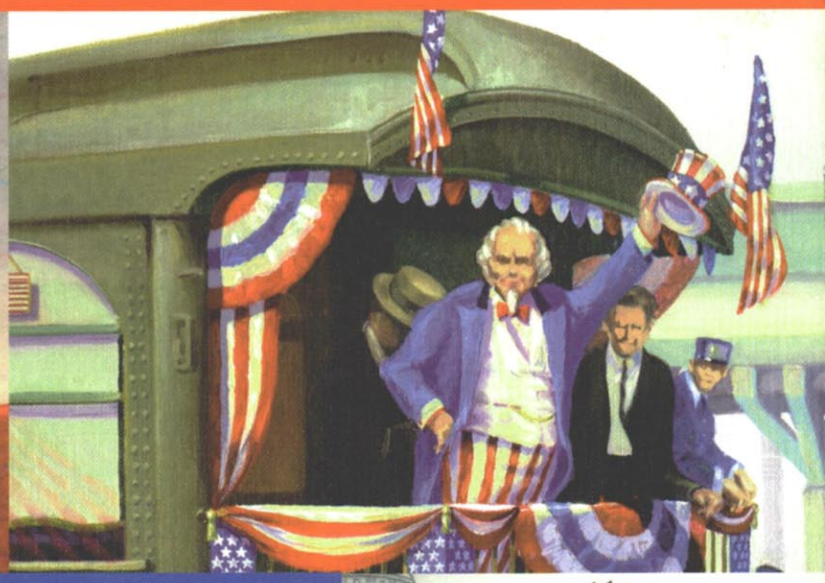

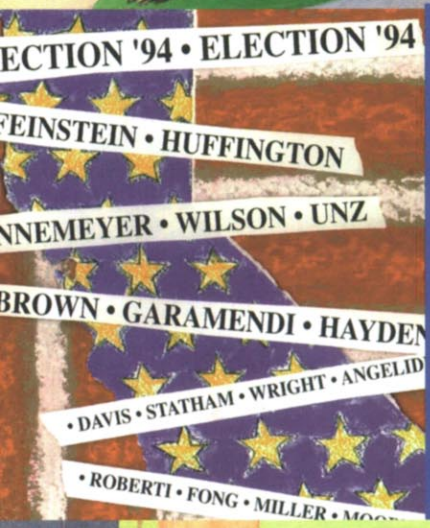
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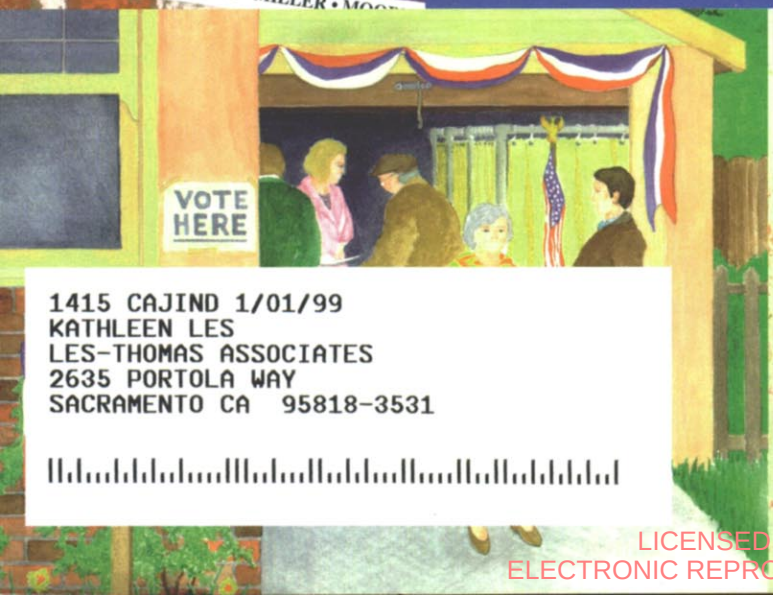
1998 Primary Election Results



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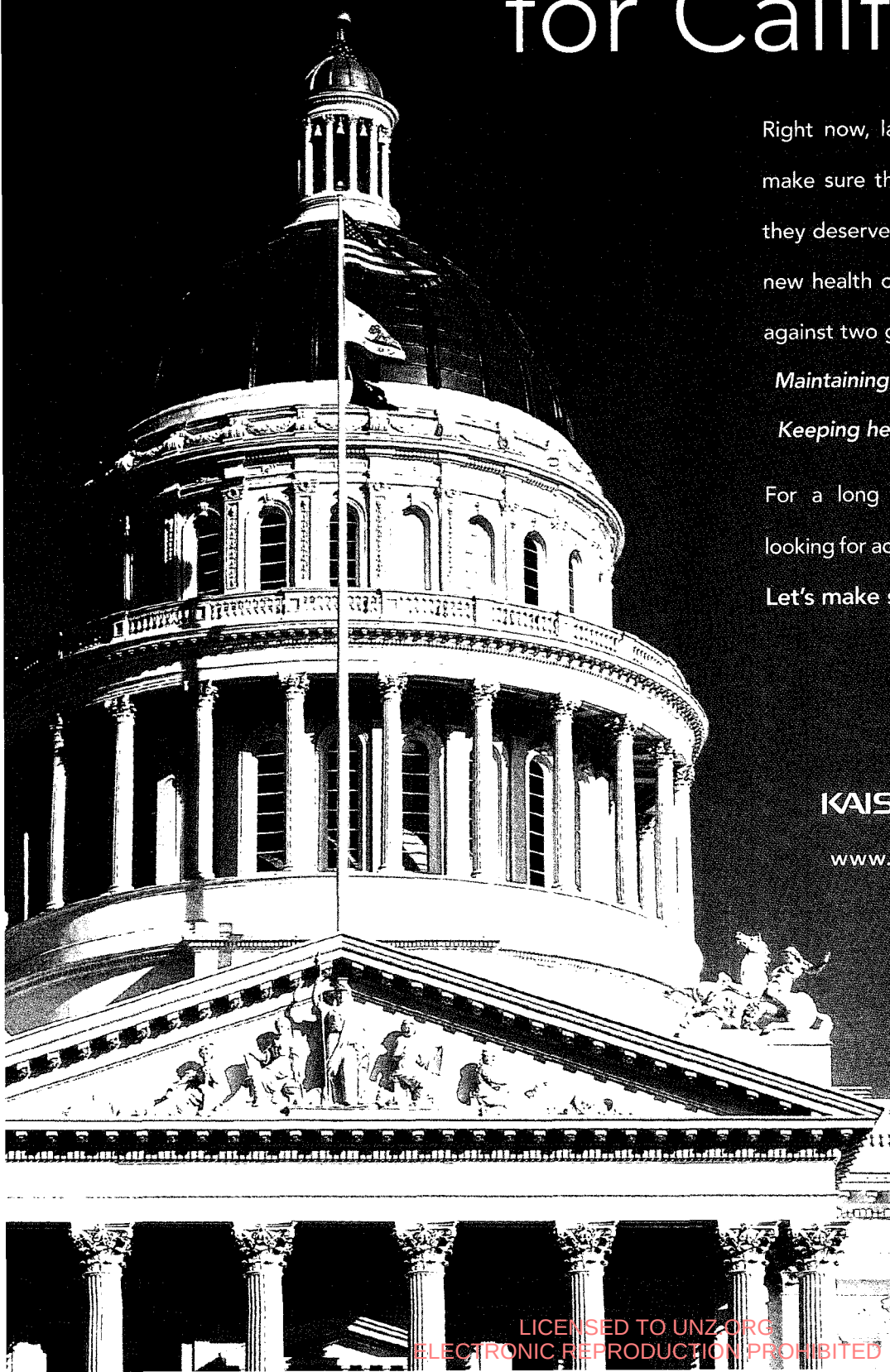

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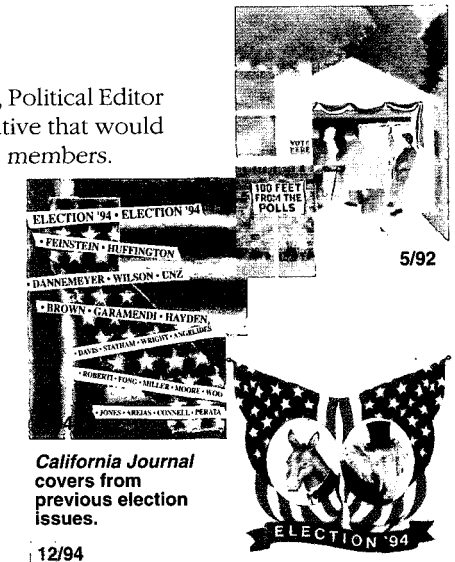
JULY 1998
VOLUME XXIX, NUMBER 7

This issue is entirely dedicated to results from the June 1998 primary. In addition, Political Editor Steve Scott provides an in-depth look at the fate of Proposition 226 — the initiative that would have hampered organized labor's ability to raise campaign donations from its members.



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Upfront
umbrage

Dewey defeats Truman. The nightmare of every newspaper's post-election issue descended upon the Los Angeles *Daily News* last month. The publication, which is widely read in the San Fernando Valley, was closely following the 20th Senate District race between ex-Assemblyman Richard Katz and L.A. Councilman Richard Alarcon (see page 41). So when Katz was leading by 10 points going into deadline hour, it seemed impossible to write any headline for their story other than "Katz Victorious in Senate Fight." But after the paper went to bed, vote counters and partisans who were still awake had a different story to tell. When all 311 precincts were counted, it was Alarcon who led by nearly 800 votes. Alarcon was presented with the paper the next morning at the City Council chambers, whereupon he hoisted the paper into the air, mimicking the famous photo of Harry Truman with the infamous *Chicago Tribune* headline cited above. Needless to say, the *Daily News* had a little egg on its face. Of course, when absentees had been counted, the margin was down to 31, making a recount almost certain. So they may yet have a chance to write the headline. Doubtless they'll wait until *all* the votes are counted this time.

The usual suspects? Beverly Hills may be the water well for limousine liberalism, but if Assemblyman Kevin Murray's experience is any indication, it's not above a little old-fashioned racial stereotyping. Murray, who had just won a competitive state Senate primary, was driving toward an area known as "Restaurant Row" for a little post-victory dinner on election night when he was stopped as he crossed over from the city of Los Angeles to the city of Beverly Hills. The female police officer told Murray she couldn't find any record of his license plates in Department of Motor Vehicles files. Murray presented his license, registration and Assembly identification, explaining the plates are issued through the Assembly for privacy reasons. Murray then asked why she'd run his plates in the first place, since it was clear he hadn't violated any traffic laws. According to Murray, no reason was offered. Instead, the officer got defensive saying, "We don't have to have a reason." The issue was brought to the attention of the Beverly Hills P.D., which at first wouldn't even confirm the incident. Murray is still deciding whether to press the case, but says he might consider legislation which would address the seeming tendency of certain officers to stop black drivers for no apparent reason.

Auditing for extra credit? Anyone who's been to meetings of the budget conference committee this year may notice a slight imbalance — three senators and four Assembly members. The three assigned Assembly conferees have been joined by Assemblyman Fred Keeley (D-Boulder Creek). Who invited him to the party? Well, nobody's saying too much, beyond the explanation of committee chair Senator Mike Thompson that Keeley is monitoring "to ensure we have some continuity ... in the era of term limits." But things become a little clearer when one remembers that the Assembly's lead member is Budget Committee Chairwoman Denise Ducheny (D-San Diego). Ducheny was one of the last holdouts blocking Antonio Villaraigosa's rise to the speakership. Keeley, a Villaraigosa loyalist, is believed by some to be interested in Ducheny's slot as chair of Assembly Budget. *Maybe* Keeley is just being his usual policy wonk self and is not really a spy for the speaker. But if Villaraigosa gets wind of any off-message sleight of hand from Ducheny, it won't be hard to figure which little bird told him about it.

"Politics is a blood sport."

—Aneurin Bevin

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Editor
A.G. Block

Managing Editor
Cynthia H. Craft

Senior Editor
Sigrid Bathen

Political Editor
Steve Scott

Associate Editors
Claudia Buck, Noel Brinkerhoff, Kathleen Les, Melanie Smith, Anthony York

Contributing Editors
Lou Cannon, Lance Izumi, Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, Susan Rasky, Marc Sandalow

Editorial Assistants
Sean J. Campbell, Tippy Young

Circulation
Tim Foster

Art Director
Dagmar Thompson

Art Staff
Suzanne Raney

Advertising Representative,
Mary Foy, 4M Advertising
(916) 422-1377

Advertising Coordinator
Erica Pahl
(916) 444-2840

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By the Numbers

by CJ editors

Percentage of total Latino voters in California who've registered since 1995: 52

Change in percentage of voters registered as "other" or "decline to state" since 1990: +6.3

Change in percentage of Democrat and Republican voters since 1990: -6.3

Number of California counties that, since 1978, shifted from Democrat-majority registration to Republican: 24

Estimated number of Latinos in California who become eligible to vote every year: 200,000

Number of Californians eligible to register to vote: 20,653,410

Number who have registered: 14,605,677

Percentage of registered voters who participated in the June 2 primary: 40.7

Number of days that GOP Secy. of State Bill Jones was in the news criticizing Checchi handling of absentee ballots: 3

Number of campaign-disclosure statement pages listing Al Checchi's contributions: 1

Number of pages, as of June 2, listing Al Checchi's expenditures: 191

Amount the Checchi campaign reported spending on airfare on six different airlines: $80,000+

Amount it reported spending for Northwest Airlines flights: 0

Number of California's 58 counties that said "no" to Prop 227: 2

Percentage of Republican men estimated to have voted "yes" on Prop 227: 81

Percentage of Latino voters supporting Prop 227 before Gov. Pete Wilson endorsed it: 64

Percentage of Latinos supporting it on June 2: 33

Percentage of Latino voters describing themselves as Republicans before Pete Wilson became governor: 24

Percentage of Latino voters who count themselves as Republicans today: 19

Estimated percentage of upper-income votes ($75,000 or more) that Al Checchi captured: 9

Sum that Al Checchi spent per vote he received: $54

Amount Al Checchi gained in investment earnings while campaigning for governor, as of May 6: $129,000,000

Amount remaining if Checchi's record-breaking campaign spending is subtracted: $89,000,000

Emily's List (Early Money is Like Yeast) contributions for Jane Harman in the final 3 weeks of the campaign: $113,500

Number of gubernatorial candidates other than Dan Lungren who said in a May 23 debate that there's no evidence of a growing gap between California's rich and poor: 0

Number of grammatical errors in written remarks by Ed. Supt. hopeful Gloria Tuchman, on a bilingual ed bill: 3

Number of times Sean Walsh invoked Melville's Captain Ahab in an op-ed page letter on a Prop 226 column: 3

Last year in which a lieutenant governor went on to become governor: 1954

Last year in which an attorney general did: 1982

Number of bears, approximately, that hunter Assm. Rico Oller left in the woods, fueling a campaign fracas: 1/2

Number of candidates for state treasurer running on a "Save The Bears" platform, and losing: 1

Price for patrons of Phil Angelides' 45th birthday party at Sacramento's Fairytale Town: $4,500

Number of Hyatt Hotel execs donating $250 apiece to Lt. Gov. hopeful Noel Irwin Hentschel: 17

Number of times Jane Harman's campaign asked permission before bringing assault weapons onto a junior high campus to film a commercial advocating keeping guns out of schools: 0

Age of student who told his mom he saw camera crews and assault weapons at school and thought it was "cool": 13

Number of times in a debate that Jane Harman urged voters to reject "macho" politics and vote for her: 2

Number of paid ballot arguments in the City of San Francisco's 176-page voter handbook: 357

Average number of years California's Latino population is younger than the Anglo population: 10

Total "hits" to the secy. of state's "Primary 98" web site in the 24 hours starting at noon on Election Day: 1,933,922

Largest margin of victory in votes cast in the primary, in Dan Lungren vs. Dennis Peron matchup: 1.8 million

Smallest margin of victory, in Richard Katz (D) vs. Richard Alarcon (D) race for state Senate: 31

Sources: 1, 16, 17, 18, 19: Latino Issues Forum. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 24, 33, 39, 40, 41: Secy. of State's office. 5, 38: Tomas Rivera Policy Institute. 9, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31 36: CJ editors. 15, 20: LA Times Poll. 15, 21, 22: LA Times. 27: Sacramento Bee. 32: Angelides campaign. 34, 35, 37: San Francisco Chronicle.

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Primary 1998:

The 1998 primary election was shaped by a soaring economy and by a pair of initiatives that voters passed in 1996. One created the blanket primary. The other complicated fund raising for most candidates and provided fertile ground for inexperienced hopefuls sporting overstuffed checkbooks.

By A.G. Block

Politics can be a cruel business. In its heady moments, it provides a glimpse of a promised land where ambition and opportunity combine to produce the seeds of glory. But as the 1998 primary election demonstrated, that view can be an illusion disguising some very hard realities.

Witness the fate of Al Checchi, lately a Democratic candidate for governor (see following story). In 1997, flush from a successful career in business, Checchi surveyed a political landscape that seemed ripe for his taking. His personal fortune — estimated at close to $800 million — allowed him to spend whatever it took to run for office, free of the constant nag of fund raising. Not only that, new features on that landscape severely handicapped the ability of nearly every potential rival to raise money, as well as drove up the cost of campaigning in a primary.

But now that the primary is over, Al Checchi stands as the Paul Gauguin of California politics — the man who beheld paradise, never suspecting the terrible destiny that awaited him. Not only did Checchi lose the primary to Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis after spending $40 million, but the image he created — that of a rich but inexperienced outsider trying to buy his way to the top of the political ladder — spread like a disease to different parts of the ballot, infecting other races and other candidates. But Checchi was not the affliction of this recent campaign. If anything, he and other political neophytes were victims of the peculiar nature of this primary election.

The election itself was shaped by three distinct elements. First were a pair of propositions, passed by voters in 1996, that changed the ground rules under which the primary was conducted. Proposition 198 (March 1996) created a blanket primary that blurred party lines by allowing voters to cast ballots for any candidate from any party. Thus, it drove up the cost of campaigning by forcing candidates to appeal to a broader electorate. Proposition 208 (November 1996) restricted the way those contenders

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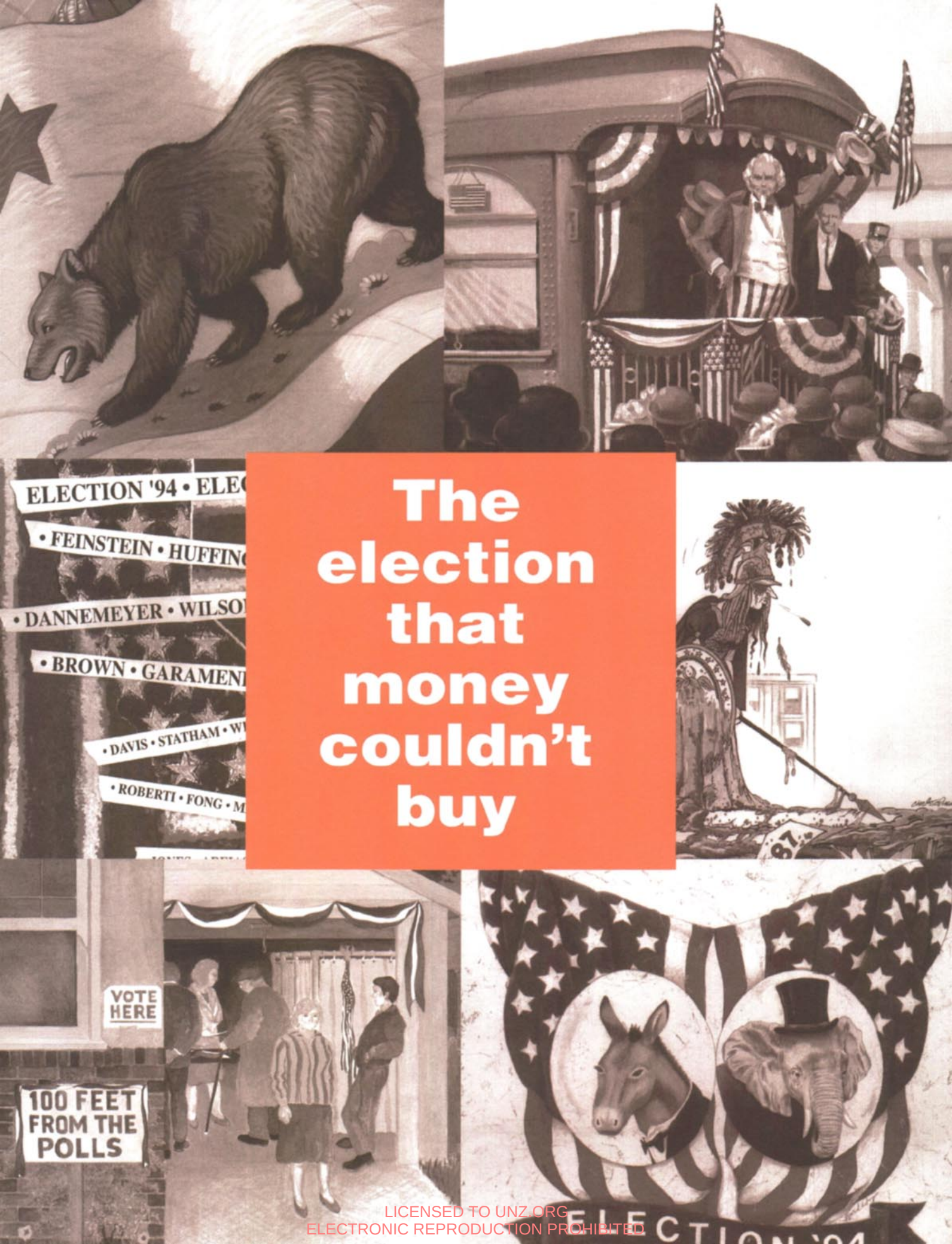
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The election that money couldn't buy

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could raise money. Although invalidated by a court early in 1998, Proposition 208 curtailed fund raising for all of 1997.

The third factor shaping the primary was the robust health of the state's economy. As a result, voters were relatively satisfied — a huge advantage for incumbents and a negative for outsiders such as Checchi who promised to shake up the system. Shake-ups involve risk, and voters weren't much in the mood for risk-taking. This attitude marked a dramatic change from 1994, when incumbency was the political equivalent of a carbuncle on the end of a candidate's nose.

The '98 primary also marked another increase in Latino voting power. Latinos accounted for a record 13 percent of the vote, helping statewide candidates such as Democrats Cruz Bustamante and Diane Martinez win nominations for lieutenant governor and insurance commissioner, respectively. Another Latino, Ruben Barrales, won an uncontested GOP nomination for controller, while Gloria Matta Tuchman forced incumbent Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin into an unexpected runoff this fall.

Widespread crossover voting marked California's first-ever blanket primary, providing the most dramatic change from primaries past. It took place at every level, with those registered as "decline to state" also able to participate in party primaries for the first time. According to a *Los Angeles Times* exit poll, for instance, nearly a quarter of Republican voters cast ballots in the Democratic primary for governor; 9 percent of Democrats voted in the GOP gubernatorial contest. And crossover voting may have turned one key statewide election. In the Republican primary for U.S. Senate, state Treasurer Matt Fong and businessman Darrell Issa ran about even among GOP voters, but Democratic voters opted for Fong by a two-to-one margin. Fong won the nomination by less than 3 percentage points (see story, page 13).

Results aside, the blanket primary changed campaign tactics and strategies. For one, it made campaigns more expensive as candidates spent resources in efforts to appeal to independents and across party lines. For another, it caused candidates to engage in unprecedented tactical maneuverings. For instance, Republican candidates such as Assemblyman Rico Oller (R-San Andreas) bought space on Democratic slate mailers; Democratic hopefuls such as Assembly candidate Frances Gracechild appeared on GOP slates.

The blanket primary also may have caused the parties to adjust their strategies for the fall campaign by identifying incumbents who displayed obvious strengths or weaknesses, especially in legislative and congressional races.

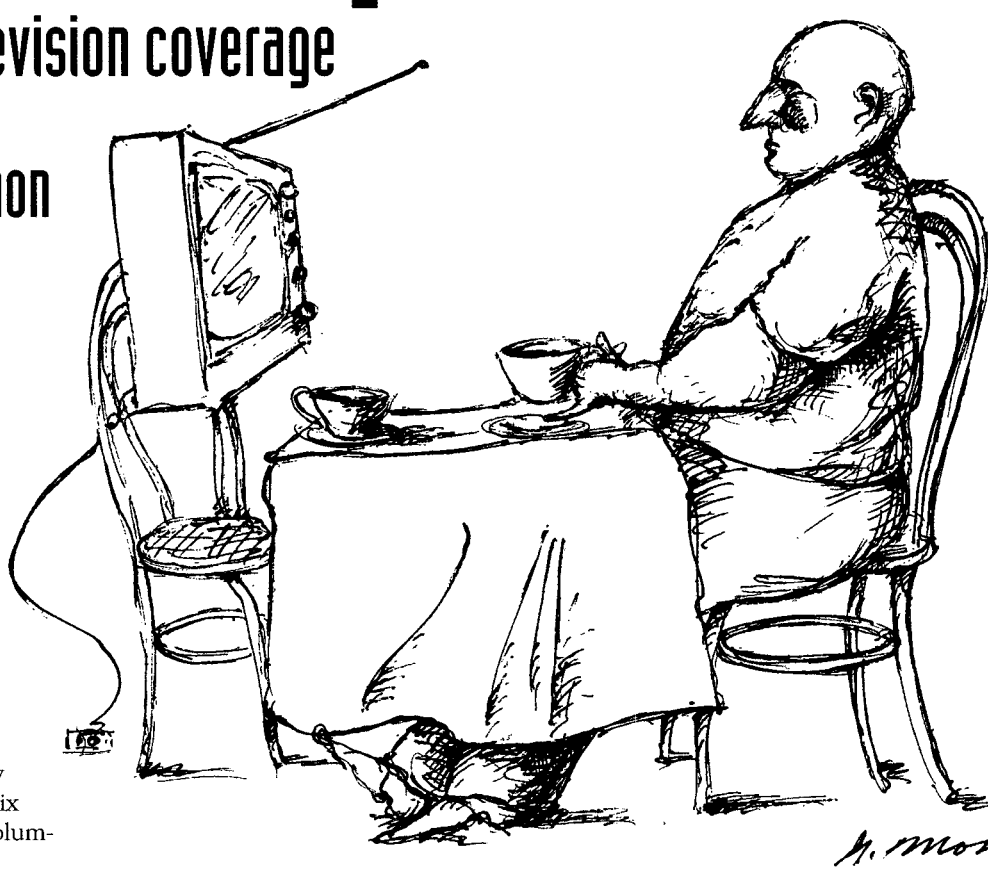
"A blanket primary essentially gives voters two general elections," says Tony Quinn, a political analyst who has made a study of similar primaries in Washington and Alaska. "In Washington, if an incumbent got over 50 percent in the primary, that incumbent almost always won in November. If an incumbent got under 50 percent, that incumbent almost always lost."

Thus, Assembly incumbents such as Republican Peter Frusetta and Democrat Dennis Cardoza, previous targets

No time for politics

The black hole of television coverage

by Lou Cannon



Never before did political candidates spend so much on television advertising and receive as little TV news coverage as in the 1998 California primary.

At a time when two-thirds of Americans rely on television as their principal source of news, the campaign passed almost without notice on most channels, especially in Southern California. Leading stations in Los Angeles ignored the candidates while trying to boost ratings during the May sweeps, which set advertising rates for six months. *Los Angeles Times* television colum-

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thought to be in the crosshairs again in 1998, may not show up on "most wanted" lists because of strong showings in the primary. On the other hand, Democratic Assemblyman Howard Wayne's less than impressive performance in San Diego may move him even higher on the GOP target list.

The blanket primary may also have helped to produce more moderate candidates on the Republican side, a result that could help them in the fall. In Wayne's district, for example, a pro-choice woman defeated a pair of conservative men for the GOP nomination. In Sacramento County, a moderate county supervisor defeated a candidate heavily backed by gun owners and the conservative California Republican Assembly. Moderate Republicans also won in San Luis Obispo, Long Beach and San Diego.

If Proposition 198 changed the way campaigns were conducted, Proposition 208 changed the way they were financed. Originally designed to restrict the amount of money spent on campaigns, the measure made personal wealth an even greater political advantage. Legislative candidates couldn't raise any money in the off-year of 1997; statewide candidates could not begin to raise a shekel until June 1997. And then, the amount that could be raised was paltry compared with the cost of campaigning in a state as vast and expensive as California. Thus, it discouraged potential contenders such as Leon Panetta, a Democrat from Monterey who had served in Congress before becoming President Bill Clinton's budget chief and then his chief of staff. Panetta was thought to be a solid candidate for governor, but the rules imposed by 208 meant that Panetta could never raise the kind of cash required to be competitive against a well-heeled opponent such as Checchi.

More significant, it also may have contributed to the eventual decision of Democratic U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein not to enter the contest for governor. Feinstein dithered for more than a year before bowing out early in 1998, and the delay especially hampered Harman, who entered only after Feinstein's withdrawal. Harman would have been better prepared for the race had she had more time to put together a campaign team and financing. The delay also may have contributed to Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan's decision not to run for governor as a Republican. Riordan would not have entered the campaign if it meant opposing Feinstein, a political ally whom he endorsed for re-election in 1994 and who endorsed his re-election bid for mayor in 1997. By the time she made up her mind, it was too late for Riordan to mount any kind of effort.

And then there was the backdrop of a robust state economy, which saw voters gravitate to known commodities such as Davis and state Treasurer Matt Fong, a Republican candidate for U.S. Senate. That provided incumbents and other electeds an issue tailor-made for the times: experience. Four years ago, political experience was a major liability. Today, six out of 10 voters think the state is headed in the right direction, and candidates with experience are seen as steady hands.

Davis was the first to frame the issue of experience in

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nist Howard Rosenberg complained that the only way to interest most stations in the campaign "may be to have the four leading candidates chase each other on a freeway."

But the primary was a financial windfall for television, as self-financed candidates with immense fortunes bought every bit of available air time to make themselves known or to demonize their opponents. Total spending is likely to exceed $100 million. Businessman Al Checchi shelled out $40 million in his failed attempt to win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, more than any previous non-presidential candidate in U.S. history had spent on the primary and general election combined (see page 11).

Among them, the three Democratic candidates for governor spent at least $65 million. Businessman Darrell Issa's losing bid to win the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate cost him $10 million. Organized labor spent $20 million to defeat Proposition 226, a rare case in this primary where big spenders got their money's worth.

The national story, heartening to the political establishment across the land, was that money alone cannot buy nominations to high office even in a state with 33 million people — at least not in prosperous times when most voters are content.

Not that the winners would qualify for welfare assistance. Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis spent $9 million to win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Although this amount paled in comparison to Checchi and Representative Jane Harman, a late starter who spent $16 million and ran third, it tied the previous record for primary spending. In the GOP Senate race, state Treasurer Matt Fong spent $2.5 million in his upset victory. Many previous candidates have won with less, but Fong's spending seemed insignificant because he was outspent four-to-one by Issa.

The upbeat analysis of the primary in the poilitical community was that voters demonstrated a healthy skepticism about financial excess and a respect for political experience. True enough, but the outcomes in the primary were determined by the small minority of Californians who felt concerned or informed enough to vote.

The 42 percent turnout of registered voters, unimpressive on its face, was worse than it looked. Prodded by Secretary of State Bill Jones, many counties assiduously removed the so-called "deadwood" from voting rolls, purging habitual non-voters or people who had moved away or died. This increased the percentage of registered voters in the primary. But the percentage of eligible voters, including those who could have participated if they bothered to register, remained constant at about 25 percent.

There seems little doubt that the turnout would have been higher if television paid more attention to public affairs.

"In most democracies, the principal television channels give extensive coverage to the campaign for the two weeks before the election," said William J. Rosendahl, senior vice president of the Los Angeles-based Century Cable. "Here, local television has abandoned this responsibility."

The long decline in television coverage of politics was particularly noticeable this time, said Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a contributing editor to *California Journal*, because of a "breathtaking imbalance between the commercial spending and the lack of coverage." Other observers, including Warren Olney of public radio station KCRW in Santa Monica and John Jacobs, political editor for McClatchy Newspapers, found a suspicious relationship in this imbalance.

"This is a novel conflict of interest for the television

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order provide an effective counter to Checchi's millions. But the message crafted by his campaign resonated all down the ballot. The Issa Senate campaign lays much of the blame for its candidate's defeat at the fallout from the Davis-Checchi dustup, especially over the issue of experience. In Riverside County, Rialto Mayor John Longville won a Democratic Assembly nomination despite being heavily outspent by an inexperienced candidate backed by the California Correctional Peace Officers Association. In a north coast Senate district, a 25-year-old wine county heir named John Jordan pumped $1 million into a primary campaign against a Mendocino County supervisor who refused any contribution over $49. Jordan won less than 60 percent of the GOP vote, despite his million. In the Democratic primary for state treasurer, little-known and underfunded Albert Robles, with a ballot designation of "city treasurer," polled 37 percent of the vote against eventual winner Phil Angelides, a big-bankroll developer and former state party chairman. The notion of "experience" may even have helped Bob Dornan capture the GOP nomination for Congress in the 46th District.

Among other significant events in this primary was the emergence of trial lawyers as a major funding source for Republican candidates. Traditionally in the camp of Democrats, this group of trial lawyers spread the wealth in 1998 under the umbrella of Conservative Attorneys for Civil Justice, which gave $250,000 to GOP candidates and emerged with five victories out of 11 candidates backed.

And, of course, there was the fate of two important initiatives — Propositions 226 and 227. The former, backed heavily by Governor Pete Wilson, would have forced labor unions to seek annual permission from each member before spending a portion of that member's dues for political purposes. It lost after a $20 million campaign against it from labor (see story, page 22). Proposition 227, the measure designed to end bilingual education in California, passed (see page 24).

Finally, the Republican Party may have emerged from this primary having taken significant steps toward improving its image in minority communities — despite its backing of efforts to pass Proposition 227. That image has been battered throughout the 1990s by the conduct of campaigns to pass Propositions 187 and 209 (see *CJ*, September, October 1994; October 1996), both of which were heavily supported by Republicans. But the '98 primary produced a GOP statewide slate that includes an Asian (Fong), and a Latino (controller nominee Ruben Barrales), a Latina (superintendent of public instruction nominee Gloria Matta Tuchman). It also produced the possibility that three more Latinos will join incumbent Rod Pacheco (R-Riverside) in the Assembly GOP caucus.

What follows is *California Journal's* in-depth look at the results of all statewide, congressional and legislative races and a preview of those contests considered hot for the fall campaign.

— A.G. Block

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stations," Jacobs said. "Why cover the candidates when they're going to spend the money with you if you don't?"

Television executives denied nefarious motives while acknowledging commercial reasons for lack of political coverage. In interviews with *The Washington Post*, news directors from two Los Angeles television stations and a producer from another acknowledged that political news held a low priority at their stations, especially during the May "sweeps" period, which ended 10 days before the election.

One of these news directors, Jeff Wald of KTLA, said he was surprised during the May 13th debate of the four principal gubernatorial candidates sponsored by the *Los Angeles Times* that Checchi came across as shaky and that Davis and Republican candidate Dan Lungren as witty and informed. And Wald was even more surprised that the debate, which KTLA had televised at his urging, produced higher ratings than its normal morning programs.

"Because of the May sweeps, we had been caught up in other things and hadn't realized that this is a very interesting race," Wald said. "I kind of regret that we hadn't done more to cover [the campaign]."

Wald and Larry Perret, news director of KCBS in Los Angeles, said that local television is unlikely to change its ways in a competitive market in which political news is seen as inherently dull. At KNBC, which holds the highest ratings in Los Angeles with a steady diet of crime-and-catastrophe news, spokesman Erin Dittman said in May that no one at the station could discuss the issue because "this is the final week of sweeps, and we're too busy."

But there may be more latent interest in politics than television executives realize. Two examples are KTLA's higher-than-expected ratings for the debate and the continued growth of Century Cable, which now serves a million customers in west Los Angeles and Orange County with a steady diet of public-affairs programs. Stations in smaller markets such as Eureka, Santa Barbara and Monterey continue to cover political news without diminution of ratings. KCOY in San Luis Obispo and KXTV in Sacramento both sent reporters to Minnesota to do a useful pieces on Checchi, an act of journalism that no Los Angeles station duplicated.

The good-government argument for more television coverage of politics is made with eloquence by Rosendahl, who said the current situation is "dangerous to a democracy" and added, "Television has an obligation to get beyond its greed and realize that our country's future is at stake and that it can fail if there's insufficient public participation."

But Olney believes that commercial television will cover public affairs only if a case can be made that such coverage is profitable. Olney, who left television in disgust several years ago to host the popular "Which Way L.A." on radio, is convinced that political coverage can attract ratings if stations become "willing to devote resources to politics and cover it creatively."

His words were echoed by a veteran producer at a major station in Los Angeles who said he was afraid to talk on the record for fear of being fired.

"Anyone with access to a helicopter can point a camera at a car chase," this producer said. "It takes some thought to cover politics in an interesting way. We have decided that politics isn't interesting, and it's become a self-fulfilling prophecy."

Lou Cannon is a special correspondent for The Washington Post *and a contributing editor to* California Journal.

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Key

Parties
D = Democrat
R = Republican
AI = American Independent
G = Green
L = Libertarian
NL = Natural Law
PF = Peace and Freedom
RI = Reform

Other
* = Incumbent

Winners in boldface. Some results and some vote totals, however, may change due to absentee ballots that remained uncounted as of press time.

(56) = percent of the vote, rounded to the nearest whole number. As a result, some district totals may add up to slightly more or less than 100 percent. This number also represents a candidate's share of the vote within individual party primaries. It does not reflect a candidate's percentage of the overall popular vote cast for all candidates in this year's blanket primary.

Voter registration numbers provided by the Secretary of State's Office, as of May 4, 1998.

Governor

Checchi (D)	682,479	(21)
Davis (D)	**1,885,315**	**(58)**
Harman (D)	664,005	(20)
Jensen (D)	11,241	(0)
Palitz (D)	10,989	(0)
Pineda (D)	21,652	(1)
Crawford (R)	26,286	(1)
Lungren (R)	**1,824,698**	**(93)**
Peron (R)	65,343	(3)
Rivera (R)	20,502	(1)
Williams (R)	17930	(1)
Johnson (AI)	**17,667**	**(100)**
Hamburg (G)	**82,897**	**(100)**
Kubby (L)	**42,627**	**(100)**
Bloomfield (NL)	**11,179**	**(100)**
Feinland (PF)	14,190	(42)
La Riva (PF)	**19,674**	**(58)**

It was a sweet moment for Garry South.

When the lanky, take-no-prisoners campaign manager for Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis showed up at a pre-election gathering of political and media insiders in Los Angeles, South found himself the center of attention. Only weeks before, many members of the gathered intelligentsia had written Davis off as a contender for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, in print and in conversation. The race, they'd said, was a battle of millionaires — the very rich Congresswoman Jane Harman and the super-rich airline executive Al Checchi. And yet, there was South, dressed in L.A. casual, schmoozing airily while his cohort spin doctors were out hustling the hustings, trying to catch up to the Davis freight train.

The Rodney Dangerfield campaign had finally gotten some respect.

Davis' roller-coaster ride from second choice to also-ran to gubernatorial nominee was as bumpy and improbable as Attorney General Dan Lungren's trip to the GOP nomination was smooth and sure. As late as mid-April, Davis was dead last in the polls, behind Lungren, Checchi and Harman. By Election Day, he'd passed them all, including Lungren, who had long since cleared the Republican field.

"I am," said Davis shortly before Election Day, "the luckiest person on earth."

Luck did indeed play a prominent role in Davis' success, but at first, it seemed that luck was all bad. Having begun his campaign almost from the time he won election as lieutenant governor in 1994, Davis spent almost the entire campaign in

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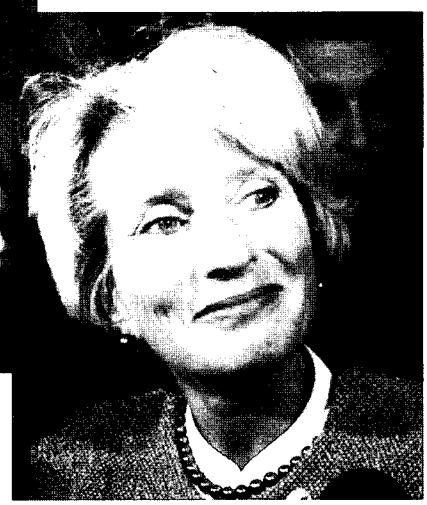
somebody else's shadow. First, it was the specter of U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, who spent the better part of 1997 vascillating back and forth on a possible run. Most 1996 polls showed Davis as the Democrats' second choice, behind Feinstein. Among the pundit corps, Davis was even less well regarded. Most saw him eventually losing out either to Feinstein or to Checchi, whose net worth of $800 million allowed him to proclaim his willingness to spend "whatever it takes" to win the nomination.

By most accounts, Davis' luck began to change in January 1998. That's when a federal appeals court invalidated the state's new campaign reform law, Proposition 208. Close on the heels of the decision, Feinstein announced she was not a candidate, briefly putting him into the lead in some polls. But it started looking bleak again almost immediately. Checchi's saturation advertising campaign, which began in November of the previous year, began to bear fruit and Feinstein's departure prompted Harman to enter the race. The Marina Del Rey congresswoman, who brought sizable personal resources of her own into the contest, immediately began running attractive commercials that catapulted her into the lead in a March statewide Field Poll. An almost instantaneous Checchi attack against Harman, spotlighting her congressional voting record, eroded her lead, but in March the race seemed to be developing into an air war between the millionaires.

Checchi



Harman

While his opponents were spending like the Pentagon, Davis' bid seemed dead in the water. He'd squirrelled away about $3 million before the temporary lid of Proposition 208's restrictions clamped down for 1997. When the January court decision freed him to raise more money, Davis found his traditional benefactors in organized labor were otherwise engaged in fighting Proposition 226, an initiative that would have restricted unions' political activity (see story, page 22).

With Harman and Checchi whaling away at each other on television, Davis' supporters began begging him to do something — anything — to keep from disappearing into oblivion. The best they could muster — a rather modest radio commercial — provided a brief Band-Aid, but as March rolled into April, Davis had little momentum and his supporters were hinting they were ready to jump ship.

"There were a lot of friends and endorsers who were saying we didn't know what we were doing," said South. "That I didn't know what I was doing."

What South and the rest of the campaign team did know was that, despite his relative invisibility, Davis was still relatively well-liked by voters. The air war between Checchi and Harman had driven each candidate's approval ratings downward, and Davis found himself in the position of being the "none of the above" choice. "While all this was going on between [Harman and Checchi], Gray's favorability was very high — three-to-one and four-to-one positive," said Harman campaign consultant Bill Carrick. The Davis camp also knew that if they could hold on until April 18, they would begin to benefit from a reduction in the advertising rates for political spots. Not only would their money go farther, but neither Checchi nor Harman could count on any particular advantage in scheduling time slots. Despite the pressure, Davis continued to counsel patience and the campaign continued to hold its fire.

"I've managed races like his, and there's an overwhelming desire of supporters to fire back," said Checchi campaign consultant Darry Sragow. "If he had, he wouldn't be the nominee."

The reward for Davis' patience came when his advertising began on April 20. There, California voters heard what they were looking for in the words "experience money can't buy." The slogan, which had been thoroughly focus-tested, had the effect of touting Davis' major strength — his 20-plus years in public service — while simultaneously taking a backhanded dig at his rich Democratic rivals. It also tapped into sentiments that all four major candidates had been seeing in their own polling: Experience was "in" again. "The fear and hostility of the 1994 campaign dissipated substantially in 1997," said Sragow.

With his slogan resonating with television viewers, Davis zipped past his Democratic rivals into the lead in statewide opinion polls. Moreover, the Checchi campaign became Davis' secret weapon, as both he and Harman successfully painted Checchi as a big-bucks bully, willing to do anything to win. Checchi's advertising continued to punch away at his themes, but Checchi himself came across as a distant figure. "He's spending all that money on advertising," noted GOP consultant Allen Hoffenblum. "He can't put two sentences together himself?"

Ultimately, "all that money" — more than $40 million by the time the campaign ended — became an issue as well. At the first of two full-blown gubernatorial debates, Checchi came off not as the visionary throwback to John Kennedy his campaign envisioned, but rather a testy autocrat who looked more political than the "career politicians" against whom he railed. Davis and Harman poured gasoline on the fire by openly criticizing Checchi for breaking a 1997 pledge not to run a negative campaign. Checchi did better in the second debate, sponsored by *La Opinion* newspaper of Los Angeles and Univision, a national Spanish-language cable network, but by then, Davis was cruising. When the results came in election night, Davis, who'd spent $9 million, doubled up the vote total on both Checchi and Harman, whose spending came in around $14 million.

Perhaps more surprising than Davis' defeat of his two

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main Democratic rivals was his showing against Lungren. Going into the state's first-ever blanket primary, the presumption was that the attorney general, whose only discernible Republican opposition came from San Francisco pot club owner Dennis Peron, would get the highest percentage of the total vote. Indeed, Lungren outpolled all of the Democrats in pre-election polling, although Davis handily outdistanced Lungren in hypothetical head-to-head matchups. But on Election Day, Davis benefitted from a strong turnout of organized labor, energized by the dues-limiting Proposition 226. That and the visibility of the Democratic race helped push Davis past Lungren in the total vote.

Still, it's not as if Lungren was invisible. Because of the unique blanket primary, Lungren found himself running against expectations. Though he usually led in polling, Lungren's percentages were not what might have been expected, and Checchi and Davis were drawing Republican support away. In an unusual, though not unprecedented, move, the uncontested Lungren began running his own commercials, introducing himself and spotlighting his law enforcement credentials. The spots kept Lungren from slipping behind the Democrats in the polling. But the Lungren camp kept up the pressure, and ran another series of ads shortly before the election.

The blanket primary also afforded Lungren a unique opportunity by allowing him to be a part of three televised candidate debates. The attorney general took full advantage of the chance for exposure without pressure, appearing comfortable with the debate format and casting himself as the bemused observer above the fray.

But for Lungren, the fray began in earnest on election night. Predictably, Lungren's early general election pitch centered around Davis' career history, specifically his six-year tenure as chief of staff to Governor Jerry Brown. Lungren also played an early round of debate "gotcha" by sniping at Davis for skipping the third "debate" — a joint television appearance hastily scheduled the day before the election and attended by Lungren, Harman and Checchi.

Davis, meanwhile, sought to link Lungren with the policies of unpopular incumbent Governor Pete Wilson. Davis committed an uncharacteristic pre-election gaffe by suggesting Wilson was anti-Semitic, a remark for which he was forced to apologize. Davis has also taken every opportunity to mention his Vietnam veteran status: Davis served two years in the U.S. Army as a captain. He wasn't exactly on the front lines, but he earned the Bronze Star. Implicit in the emphasis is a comparison with Lungren's Vietnam-era status. Lungren, whose father was the personal physician of President Richard Nixon, had a series of student and medical deferments that kept him out of the service during the war.

Notwithstanding these surrogate attacks, which historically do not work, it is likely each candidate will try to paint the other as a "dangerous" extremist — Davis on the left, Lungren on the right. Each will have evidence to support their claim: Lungren will talk about Davis' ties with organized labor, while Davis will tout Lungren's opposition to abortion and his support of school vouchers. But each will have trouble painting the other as "scary," since both have been before voters in previous statewide elections and succeeded.

In the end, it was that experience as elected officials that helped both Lungren and Davis outpoll the far wealthier, but far less experienced Checchi and Harman. And it left two men one step away from an objective toward which both have been building their careers.

No wonder Garry South is smiling these days.

— *Steve Scott*

U.S. Senate

Boxer (D)*	**2,466,489**	**(92)**
Pinkerton (D)	209,807	(8)
Brown, J. (R)	47,113	(2)
Dao (R)	27,400	(1)
Fong (R)	**1,227,937**	**(45)**
Issa (R)	1,081,959	(40)
Raus (R)	43,167	(2)
Riggs (R)	280,084	(10)
Perrin (AI)	**23,027**	**(100)**
Brown, T. (G)	**64,150**	**(100)**
Rees (NL)	**22,786**	**(100)**
Beltran (PF)	**50,356**	**(100)**
Erich (RF)	**43,540**	**(100)**

It was a matter of atmospherics. In the Republican primary for U.S. Senate, they shone brightly for state Treasurer Matt Fong. They hailed all over his main rival — car-alarm magnate Darrell Issa.

And the atmospherics? A pulsing state economy. A relatively satisfied electorate that didn't focus on this primary until just before stepping into the voting booth. A deep skepticism over wealthy neophytes trying to buy their way to office. A Democratic gubernatorial primary that generated widespread publicity, inflated Democratic turnout, framed the key issue as "experience in office" and oozed that message out to the rest of the ballot. And finally, the state's first-ever blanket primary, which allowed Democrats, independents and third-party affilliates to vote for Republicans. In fact, the Republican senatorial contest may have been the one statewide primary where Democratic and independent crossover voters determined the GOP nominee.

Fong, scion of a respected California political family, rode those atmospherics to a Phoenix-like victory over Issa, who spent more than $10 million of his own money to secure a nomination that only months ago seemed his to lose. Fong now goes against Democratic incumbent Barbara Boxer in November. Boxer won her primary with 92 percent of the vote against an unknown challenger but managed only 44

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percent of the total vote — a sign of vulnerability as the two sides head toward the finals.

Reaching those finals seemed improbable for Fong only a few months ago. His campaign team was in disarray; he had little money and few prospects to raise the kind of cash needed to compete with a bottomless wallet such as Issa; and although the candidate himself was a decent person and an experienced, competent public official, he displayed the charisma of a lamp post. Not only that, but for a time he had another "experienced" contender in the hunt — North Coast Congressman Frank Riggs, who bowed out of the race in April citing the daunting costs of a statewide campaign (see *CJ*, May 1998).

Although a political neophyte, Issa presented a formidable resume for a Republican primary: a former Army captain who worked his way up from private during a decade in the military, and a self-made millionaire who built a small electronics firm into the world's largest manufacturer of car alarms. He sought to promote that resume with a spending spree that began nearly a year before the election, building name recognition with a $2 million radio buy designed to establish his conservative credentials and attack Barbara Boxer. He all but ignored Fong and other GOP challengers, announced and potential.

Fong, on the other hand, stumbled out of the gate. His campaign ran through several consultants before veteran Sal Russo of Sacramento jumped aboard in January 1998. In addition, Fong was sucked into the undertow of congressional investigations of President Bill Clinton's ties to Asian money after it was learned that Fong, too, had accepted $100,000 from those same sources. He returned the money while insisting he had done nothing wrong.

Boxer

Fong

Issa

It was money Fong could ill-afford to return. Throughout the campaign, he was dreadfully short of cash, having only some $700,000 on hand at the end of the March reporting period. Issa, on the other hand, merely pried open another piggy bank and began funding a series of television ads. In the end, Issa outspent Fong six-to-one on television.

If Fong took any solace during the dark spring, it was the fact that a substantial chunk of the electorate had yet to focus on the Senate contest. An early May Field Poll showed Issa with a slim lead but with 20 percent of likely voters still undecided. Private tracking polls taken for the campaigns showed the undecided vote much higher, especially among Republicans.

When those undecideds finally started to move over the final 10 days of the campaign, Fong and Issa were playing on a field leveled by atmospherics.

For one, Fong finally had enough money to put his face on television. Although less than memorable, his ads pushed the notion that steady, reliable Matt Fong was an experienced hand who delivered what he had promised in previous campaigns. The message fell on an electorate already primed for it with a theme honed by Democratic gubernatorial contender Gray Davis (see story, page 11).

"The public wanted a U.S. senator who had a track record of getting things done," says Russo, "somebody who had a plan for what kind of a senator he would be." Russo adds that Fong also broadcast his message into a variety of venues. "We were up in eight Spanish-language TV markets, and also in Cantonese and Mandarin markets across the state." According to Russo, the Fong campaign spent $3 million total, a third of that on television. Fong's entire television budget, however, was spent at the critical moment — the last 10 days.

The Issa campaign, on the other hand, doesn't so much credit Fong as blame another candidate — who wasn't even in this race. Communications director Matt Cunningham says Issa could not escape the long shadow thrown across the entire primary by Democratic gubernatorial hopeful Al Checchi. "It was hard to escape the fallout from Checchi's negative image," says Cunningham. "All the coverage about millionaires running spilled over on to us. The negatives about Checchi drove down our positives, especially after he went negative in his ads. Because our race got little coverage in the media, we had little opportunity to distinguish ourselves even though we did not go negative in any of our ads."

And the attention Issa did get in the media wasn't helpful. Cunningham says the *coup de grace* for the Issa campaign was stories in the *Los Angeles Times* and *San Francisco Examiner* during the last week of the campaign that dredged up alleged incidents from Issa's past. The *Times* focused on Issa's business record in Ohio and included charges from a former associate that Issa had "stolen" his business. The *Examiner* story centered on testimony from a former Army subordinate that Issa had lied about his military record and stolen a car. According to Cunningham, they distracted Issa at the precise moment when the electorate finally zeroed in on the Senate race. "[The allegations] confused voters," said Cunningham, "and made them less likely to take a chance."

Cunningham also points out what he considers a critical timing error on the part of the Issa campaign. "We were 'dark' during the spring," he says, referring to Issa's failure to air TV ads in March and April. "That hurt us when people were begining to vote absentee. We should have been up."

Ultimately, however, the race turned on the blanket primary. Both campaigns claim to have captured the GOP vote — Russo said Fong won it by 3 percent; Cunningham said Issa ran 10 points ahead among Republicans. But no one disputes that Fong blistered Issa among Democrats, winning those crossovers by as much as two-to-one. The heavy Democratic turnout, driven by the gubernatorial campaign and organized labor's effort to defeat Proposition 226, provided Fong with a huge boost. Issa won in many traditional GOP venues. He carried San Diego County, for instance, by 17 percentage points. He won Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino and Ventura counties. He won the Central Valley enclaves of Kern, Kings, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus and Inyo counties. But Fong drubbed him throughout the Bay Area, capturing more than 60 percent of

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the vote in San Francisco and San Mateo counties. He also won Los Angeles, Sacramento, Fresno and Santa Barbara counties.

The race now heads for November, where Boxer stands near the top of the GOP's national target list. The campaign against the one-term incumbent almost writes itself, especially after the respected *National Journal* recently tapped her as the Senate's most liberal member. In addition, every statewide poll churns up negatives that would make any incumbent this side of Pete Wilson uneasy. And, as the blanket primary demonstrated, Fong has appeal among Democrats. He is, after all, the son a Democratic lioness from elections past — former Secretary of State March Fong Eu, who campaigned for her son during the primary and plans an active role on his behalf this fall. Money will no longer be a problem for Fong, who expects to be outspent but who also expects to be sufficiently funded.

And the atmospherics? No one knows for certain what forces will shape the fall election. But given how they drove the primary, suffice to say that both Fong and Boxer will campaign with one finger in the air.

— *A.G. Block*

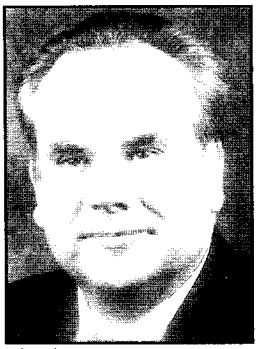
Attorney General

Calderon (D)	594,200	(24)
Lockyer (D)	**1,177,849**	**(47)**
Schenk (D)	628,428	(25)
Schmier (D)	105,303	(4.2)
Capizzi (R)	741,129	(33)
Stirling (R)	**1,472,309**	**(67)**
Templin (AI)	**71,745**	**(100)**
Farina (L)	**79,950**	**(100)**
Evans (PF)	**67,933**	**(54)**
Kast (PF)	58,294	(46)

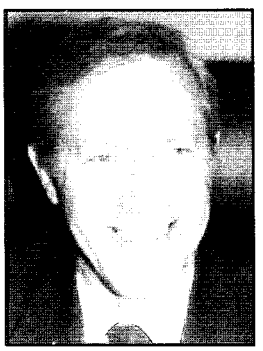
It is a quirk of California politics that the second most important race this year — after the battle for governor — is *not* the contest for U.S. Senate. It is the contest for attorney general, the office regarded as a steppingstone to the governor's office. The last four attorneys general, including incumbent Dan Lungren, all have run for governor. Five of the seven who have served since 1950 have made the run, with Pat Brown and George Deukmejian winning the job in 1958 and 1982, respectively. Evelle Younger (1978) and John Van de Kamp (1990) lost bids.

With this historical heft as background, the 1998 contest pits two seasoned Sacramento political hands against each other in a political season where experience reigns: Deputy Attorney General David Stirling and Senator Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward).

Stirling, who served as Lungren's chief deputy for eight years, had a surprisingly easy race against Orange County



Lockyer



Stirling

District Attorney Mike Capizzi, out-polling Capizzi nearly two-to-one. Capizzi was labeled as pariah by his own party for bringing criminal charges against sitting Republican elected officials, including felony election fraud charges still pending against Assemblyman Scott Baugh (R-Newport Beach). He was denied booths at state party conventions and shut out by state party chairman Michael Schroeder. Although backed by all but one of the state's 58 district attorneys, Capizzi was short of cash throughout the campaign and never able to broadcast his credentials to a wide enough audience.

Stirling, on the other hand, was staked by big contributions from several Indian tribes operating Nevada-style casinos. This provided him with enough of a treasury to get onto most GOP-oriented slate mailers and do limited media advertising. He was unharmed by criticism from Governor Pete Wilson over the tribal contributions, despite arguments from the governor and federal officials that the tribes are running illegal gambling operations on their land.

This is Stirling's second bid for attorney general. The 57-year-old Republican lost the 1982 GOP primary to George Nicholson, who eventually lost the general election to Van de Kamp. He now turns his attention to Lockyer while gingerly maneuvering out of Lungren's shadow. But Stirling's quest to assert his independence won't stop him from taking part of the credit for the reduction in violent crime in California while he and Lungren ran the Department of Justice. Stirling plans to run on a tough-on-crime platform, highlighting the attorney general's role as the state's "top cop."

Lockyer, meanwhile, is hitching his political horse to that of Democratic gubernatorial nominee Gray Davis. Lockyer advisors Bill Carrick, who ran the ill-fated Jane Harman gubernatorial campaign, and Democratic political guru Richie Ross are already coordinating their attacks on the Lungren-Stirling tenure at Justice with Davis' political advisors. Lockyer plans to highlight what he describes as Lungren's and Stirling's neglect of many of the attorney general's roles as the state's top lawyer, including the prosecution of violators of environmental regulations and antitrust suits. Lockyer will run on competency and what he considers to be the mismanagement of the office.

Lockyer, the 57-year-old former Senate president pro tem, handily dispensed with both Senator Charles Calderon (D-Los Angeles) and former Congresswoman Lynn Schenk in the Democratic primary. In that contest, Lockyer touted his experience as a former chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee and used his $3 million-plus campaign bank account to place himself conspicuously on television — a luxury neither of his underfunded opponents could buy with any regularity. Lockyer's victory margin also approached two-to-one over each opponent.

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Both Lockyer and Stirling are likely to tout their resumes. Stirling, who has been a superior court judge, legislator and administrative law judge as well as Lungren's top deputy, will promote his broad-based experience. Lockyer, meanwhile, will run on his legislative record, including his experience on Judiciary and his tenure as pro tem, when he was regarded as the most powerful Democrat in Sacramento.

Although both candidates say they will focus on issues and records in the race, there are already indications that the tenor of the campaign could turn nasty. Despite victories in the primary, neither candidate has much of a profile with the general electorate. Thus each must define himself in positive terms while laying negatives on his opponent. Each has a healthy campaign treasury, and Lockyer already is criticizing Stirling's tenure at the attorney general's office as a time when the environment and the rights of consumers were ignored and big business could do no wrong. Lockyer also points out that the state's Republican governor has characterized Stirling's decision to accept more than $300,000 from tribes operating illegal casinos as "outrageous" and "a disgrace."

Stirling's strategists, meanwhile, are preparing their brushes and pallets, ready to paint Lockyer as a soft-on-crime liberal who is beholden to the state's trial lawyers and is a sworn enemy to California business.

— Anthony York

Lieutenant Governor

Bustamante (D)	**1,734,107**	**(73)**
Miller (D)	432,306	(18)
Reed (D)	207,947	(9)
Irwin Hentschel (R)	658,822	(29)
Leslie (R)	**820,394**	**(36)**
Lundberg (R)	215,184	(9)
Mountjoy (R)	596,102	(26)
McCoy (AI)	**37,634**	**(100)**
Amir (G)	**137,043**	**(100)**
Tryon (L)	**97,753**	**(100)**
Gomez (PF)	**70,688**	**(54)**
Lark (PF)	59,849	(46)
Mangia (RF)	**39,049**	**(100)**

In yet another example of Californians choosing the tried and true, voters gave their primary picks for lieutenant governor to two incumbent legislators — Democratic Assemblyman Cruz Bustamante, who recently stepped down as Assembly speaker, and Republican Senator Tim Leslie, a cancer survivor who authored the state's new teenage driving law.

Bustamante, who has wide support among labor and

Leslie

Bustamante

Latino groups, captured 73 percent of the party vote in California's first primary where voters could cross party lines. The Fresno native, who will be termed out of his Assembly seat this year, left the speakership last March with a $1.4 million political war chest, which he used in part to buy himself a spot on at least 11 slate mailers.

His closest Democratic rival, Tony Miller, a former chief deputy secretary of state and a leading statewide proponent of campaign finance reform, took 18 percent of the vote. Democrat Larry Reed followed with 9 percent.

Miller, who lost to Republican Bill Jones in the 1994 race for secretary of state, would have been the state's first openly gay statewide official. He plans to continue to push for campaign finance reform, including a recent appeal of the court's rejection of Proposition 208. "This primary campaign reiterates the need for true campaign finance reform," Miller said. "Even though the wealthy didn't win, money was the single-most important factor in the campaign. It determined who ran and how they campaigned."

For Leslie, the Republican nomination was a sweet reward for having battled bone marrow cancer throughout the campaign. Diagnosed shortly after he declared his candidacy, the 56-year-old lawmaker was sidelined at home for three months while undergoing extensive chemotherapy treatments. His doctors have since declared his cancer in remission.

Leslie, who lost his hair but never his resolve, said that cancer "added another dimension" to his candidacy. "I wouldn't call it a sympathy factor, but the cancer helped the campaign ... because a lot of people were encouraged that I didn't give up. I persevered."

He attributed his victory over Republican rivals — wealthy businesswoman Noel Irwin Hentschel and fellow state Senator Richard Mountjoy of Arcadia — to a combination of grass-roots politicking and state-of-the-art slate mailers. Like Bustamante, Leslie bought his way onto about six slate mailers, which he purchased nearly two years ago. "In a race where no one knew any of us, it was a way to get the word out," he said.

He also credited a widespread network of friends, including many non-political acquaintances whom he and his wife have met on spiritual retreats. "I didn't really realize how important it was to have a network of friends, sending e-mails, telling friends word-of-mouth. A lot of it wasn't organized by me; it was just spontaneous and really made the difference."

It may have helped put so many Northern California counties into his column and countered the vote-rich Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, Ventura, Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties that went for his closest Republican rival, Irwin Hentschel.

A virtual unknown with no political experience when

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she announced her candidacy last February, Irwin Hentschel moved quickly to line up support. A successful international travel agency owner, she loaned her campaign about $1 million to purchase TV time and picked up endorsements from the *San Francisco Examiner, Contra Costa Times, Long Beach Press-Telegram, Bakersfield Californian* and others.

She said her campaign costs amounted to about $3 per vote, far less than the estimated $50 per vote that Al Checchi's ill-fated run for governor cost him. "I look at it as an investment in the future," said Irwin Hentschel, who said she was gratified that as a political newcomer she still garnered nearly as many votes statewide as gubernatorial hopefuls Checchi and Jane Harman.

Contemplating a continuation of her Team Noel campaign organization, Irwin Hentschel said she is not ruling out another run for political office. As she put it, "In the words of Arnold Schwarzenegger: 'I'll be back.'"

Mountjoy finished third in the GOP primary despite securing the endorsement of the conservative California Republican Assembly, which sent out 400,000 mailers endorsing him. Campaign spokeswoman Peggy Mew said it was Leslie's extensive use of slate mailers and Irwin Hentschel's heavy TV advertising in Southern California, Mountjoy's home base, that undid Mountjoy's candidacy. She said Mountjoy will run for re-election in 2000, his last Senate term.

Looking ahead to November, Bustamante and Leslie may head for the center. Bustamante, 45, said he'll continue to emphasize his moderate politics, especially his push for attracting and keeping more companies in California.

The factor he likely will push even harder is his ethnicity at a time when the Latino vote is of growing importance in California politics — an element of the campaign not lost on gubernatorial nominee Gray Davis. It was more than coincidence that, on the day after the June primary, Davis and Bustamante were attached at the hip for a victory lap around California.

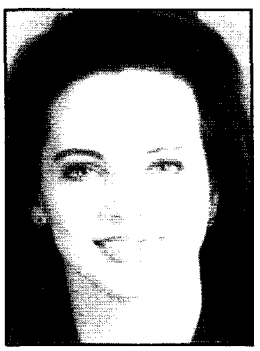
— *Claudia Buck*

Secretary of State

Alioto (D)	**1,863,138**	**(100)**
Jones (R)*	**2,382,915**	**(100)**
Short (AI)	**75,946**	**(100)**
Lightfoot (I)	**169,122**	**(100)**
Bialosky (NL)	**95,274**	**(100)**
Feuer (PF)	**58,668**	**(50)**
Palyvos-Storer (PF)	58,300	(50)
Sharpe-Geisler (RF)	**61,183**	**(100)**

As neither major-party candidate faced competition in June, keeping things fairly quiet on the campaign front, the dry-run outcome bodes well for Bill Jones, whose name ID hasn't been stellar in recent polls. Statewide, Jones pulled in more than 500,000 more votes than Michela Alioto, capturing a solid 50 percent of the total vote to his opponent's 39 percent in an election seeing higher-than-average turnout for Democrats.

Jones



Alioto

Alioto did well in the Bay Area, where her party and her name — she's the granddaughter of the late San Francisco Mayor Joe Alioto — buoyed her numbers. She also edged out Jones in Los Angeles County by a little more than 10,000 votes. But Jones scored big in Republican territory, outshining the Democrat by approximately two-to-one in Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino and San Diego counties.

Whether Alioto can chip away at Jones' lead in these counties remains to be seen. She has already accused her opponent of being overly aggressive in his efforts to reduce voter fraud, particularly in his probe of the 1996 Orange County congressional-election squeaker in which Democrat Loretta Sanchez defeated Republican incumbent Bob Dornan. Jones' investigation angered several Latino groups when he originally sought to compare federal citizenship records against the 1.3 million names in the county's voter registration rolls. He later scaled back the inquiry.

Charges that Jones is unfriendly to Latinos may be tempered by a recent endorsement for re-election by the Spanish-language daily *La Opinion*, however. Jones also can point to voter-outreach programs aimed at Latino voters and information and voter-registration forms available in Spanish at the secretary of state's Web site.

Alioto's contention that her opponent is carrying out a Republican agenda to lower Democratic voter numbers — a too-zealous purging of missing voters from voter rolls and support of a bill instituting voter ID requirements at the polls — likely won't resonate much with voters who probably won't focus on this down-ticket race until the 11th hour. Jones can point to his accomplishments in office: a dogged pursuit of full on-line campaign disclosure, the first-ever posting of late campaign contributions on the Internet, defense of the blanket primary and of term limits, and authorship of the three-strikes-law while serving in the Assembly. And as the state official designated to "get out the vote," Jones can occasionally enjoy free media attention this election year and further boost his name recognition.

Both candidates have run aggressive campaigns in the past and are no strangers to fund-raising, so this race will heat up even in the shadow of the gubernatorial contest. But the less-experienced Alioto, who has never held an office, let alone a statewide one, has a lot of stumping to do to get her name out to voters outside the Bay Area — and a lot of persuading to do to convince voters to abandon an incumbent in what is shaping up as "the year of experience."

— *Melanie Smith*

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Controller

Connell (D)	**3,002,322**	**(100)**
Barrales (R)	**1,649,617**	**(100)**
Burgess (AI)	**84,583**	**(100)**
Pescosolido (L)	**106,343**	**(100)**
Adam (NL)	**55,400**	**(100)**
Weber (PF)	**68,963**	**(100)**
Jackson (RF)	**81,007**	**(100)**

Connell

Barrales

With no competition in the primary for either major party candidate, San Mateo County Supervisor Ruben Barrales was able to concentrate on raising cash and examining the June returns to see how he might match up against incumbent Democrat Kathleen Connell in November. The numbers aren't encouraging.

Connell pulled in almost 1.5 million more votes statewide in June than did Barrales, who even finished behind Connell on his home turf of San Mateo County. Barrales also trails badly in money. As of the last reporting period, the GOP candidate showed $160,000 cash on hand, while Connell had nearly $1 million in the bank, which means the next several months will be a long haul for the first Republican Latino to seek a partisan statewide office since Marz Garcia ran for controller in 1986. Being Latino, of course, is one advantage for Barrales. With the June election showing a record number of Latinos voting — 13 percent of the total vote — Barrales will be banking on an electoral bump from the fastest-growing group of voters in the state. So will Republican gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren, who has already been stumping with Barrales in Southern California.

The strategy between the two is symbiotic in nature — Lungren needs to repair the Republican Party's image among Latinos, while Barrales could use Lungren's assistance with fund raising. But Barrales alone may not be enough to bring large numbers of Latinos back into the fold, given the pressure Barrales came under from party leaders to run for the more difficult statewide race.

Originally, Barrales was running for treasurer until former GOP Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove) decided he wanted nothing to do with a challenge against Connell and opted instead for treasurer. That resulted in Barrales switching races at the behest of Pringle and Lungren, who immediately endorsed the Latino Republican for controller. That move didn't sit well with some Latino Republicans, who saw the effort as yet another example of the party's insincere posture towards minorities, since Barrales wound up running against an incumbent instead of for an open seat.

Connell, on the other hand, should feel pretty good about her re-election — as long as she can keep herself out of the hospital. Earlier this year, the 50-year-old controller broke her right hip after falling in the Los Angeles airport. That accident followed a roller-blading incident last year that saw Connell fall and break her left hip. In between the two, Connell also broke a toe. Consequently, she's been taking it easy the past few months and saving herself and her resources for the fall campaign.

—Noel Brinkerhoff

Treasurer

Angelides (D)	**1,240,299**	**(53)**
Evans (D)	243,555	(10)
Robles (D)	870,108	(37)
Goldsmith (R)	826,583	(38)
Pringle (R)	**1,360,476**	**(62)**
Kaiser (AI)	**49,894**	**(100)**
Petersen (L)	**116,801**	**(100)**
Aguirre (NL)	**87,128**	**(100)**
Tucker (PF)	**90,448**	**(100)**

Angelides

Pringle

In the end, the Republican primary for treasurer demonstrated the importance of having leadership experience on a legislative resume. When it came to endorsements and campaign contributions, former Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove) racked up the big names and big bucks, including a substantial sum from a Greek-American tycoon. And come November, even more money will flow into this race from Greek-American sources, now that Pringle faces Democratic millionaire Phil Angelides, a former state Democratic Party chairman and 1994 candidate for treasurer.

Pringle bested Assemblyman Jan Goldsmith (R-Poway) by almost 25 points in the primary, even though Goldsmith got a head start on campaigning and endorsements. But that was before Pringle decided to avoid a tough battle in the controller's race against incumbent Kathleen Connell and opted instead for treasurer. Pringle's move bumped San Mateo County Supervisor Ruben Barrales out of this race and into the contest for controller.

When Pringle jumped, several GOP legislators who had endorsed Goldsmith suddenly endorsed Pringle as well. Pringle also won the support of incumbent Matt Fong and Governor Pete Wilson. For Goldsmith, Wilson's endorsement of Pringle was noticeable, since the governor had

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previously backed the San Diego lawmaker in his 1992 bid for state Assembly. Goldsmith also was at a disadvantage with money as Pringle topped him in cash almost five-to-one. The $600,000 Pringle raised was helped largely by the generosity of Greek millionaire developer Alex Spanos, who gave $250,000 to the former speaker. Goldsmith did what he could with the money he had, including a lone 15-second television spot that played statewide.

Both candidates traded barbs during the campaign. Pringle questioned Goldsmith's efforts to portray himself as a conservative and reminded party faithful that Goldsmith welcomed renegade GOP Assemblywoman Doris Allen when Democrats put her in power. Goldsmith answered with his own jabs, recalling Pringle's 1988 poll guard incident and alleged participation in the controversial recall election of then-Speaker Allen.

Pringle's skeletons could come out again in the November campaign, given Angelides' past ability to run slash-and-burn campaigns. In 1994, Angelides savaged his primary opponent, Democratic Senator David Roberti, with a television ad that implied the former president pro tempore — an anti-abortion Catholic — had condoned the killing of an abortion doctor in Florida. Such tactics may account for Angelides' less than stellar showing in June, according to some analysts, who believe he has yet to shed his negative image from last time around.

Despite nominal primary opposition, Angelides received fewer votes statewide than Pringle. In fact, more than a third of all Democratic votes went to Albert Robles, a South Gate city treasurer and virtual unknown, who even beat Angelides in a handful of counties, including San Diego.

Like Pringle, Angelides will enjoy the financial support of Greek-American financiers like Angelo Tsakopoulos, a wealthy Sacramento developer. Angelides is a close friend and protege of Tsakopoulos, which is why Spanos decided to back Pringle in the first place. Spanos and Tsakopoulos are considered rivals within the Greek-American community, with their rivalry frequently carried out in political circles. In 1994, Spanos backed Fong for treasurer against Angelides.

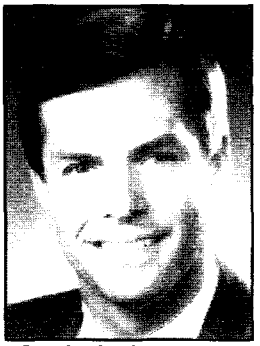
Of all the races on the statewide slate, this one could be the first to fall into the gutter.

— Noel Brinkerhoff

Insurance Commissioner

Brown (D)	900,644	(42)
Martinez (D)	**1,219,658**	**(58)**
Quackenbush (R)	**2,331,201**	**(100)**
Short (AI)	**66,503**	**(100)**
Ogden (L)	**119,196**	**(100)**
Bourdette (NL)	**103,674**	**(100)**
Condit (PF)	65,582	(45)
Ramos (PF)	**80,038**	**(55)**

When the landmark 1988 insurance initaitive, Proposition 103, gave California its first elected insurance commissioner, many thought the job would be a relatively easy win for Democrats. Republicans, after all, were generally more sympathetic to the insurance industry, and that sympathy seemed incompatible with the consumer-advocacy role of the commissioner. As Proposition 103 celebrates its first decade, however, not only is the office not held by a Democrat, but it didn't attract much in the way of first-tier Democratic candidates. Assemblywoman Diane Martinez' victory over Marin County Supervisor Hal Brown was almost by default, since neither mounted much in the way of a campaign.


Quackenbush

Martinez

Brown's early edge going into the race seemed more a function of history than anything else. Brown is the nephew of former Governor Pat Brown and the cousin of former Governor Jerry Brown, and no Brown had ever lost a Democratic primary in a statewide race. But a last name doesn't pay the bills, or at least not enough of them. Brown only had money to run some radio commercials near the end of the campaign, most of them attacking Quackenbush. But there was no television by any of the candidates in the race, including Quackenbush.

Brown's relatively meager effort was positively ubiquitous compared with Martinez'. The iconoclastic San Gabriel Valley Democrat who chaired the Assembly's Utilities and Commerce Committee had counted on some heavyweight support from Sacramento-based PACs, but it never really materialized. But Martinez did effectively work free media, notably with a well-covered press conference on utility deregulation held at the Los Angeles headquarters of Southern California Edison. Martinez also had other advantages: She was the only woman among the major-party candidates, and she had a Latino surname in a year when Latino candidates did well in their statewide contests. Martinez' ballot designation as a "California State Lawmaker" also helped in a year when experience was the issue upon which many voters were clearly making their decision.

The fall campaign would seem to clearly favor Quackenbush. He's an incumbent in a year when incumbency is in, and he has drawn a candidate who has shown little early indication she can match his fund raising. Martinez is also something of a character as a candidate — an acid-tongued ideologue whose enemies list puts Richard Nixon's to shame.

Quackenbush is apparently confident enough of victory that he's sworn off insurance industry money, a connection that helped win him the job four years ago. But Quackenbush didn't exactly burn up the primary field — he secured only 48 percent of the total vote, below the 50 percent threshold considered comfortable for an incumbent. If Martinez can somehow channel her grating personality into an effective consumer pitch, she might make Quackenbush sweat, but only if she can raise the money to make it stick.

— Steve Scott

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Superintendent of Public Instruction

(Nonpartisan)

Eastin*	**1,977,070**	**(43)**
Tuchman	**1,178,273**	**(26)**
Carpenter	598,999	(13)
Isler	555,135	(12)
Everett	297,643	(6)

Incumbent Superintendent Delaine Eastin was forced into a November runoff with Gloria Matta Tuchman, an outspoken Santa Ana teacher who co-authored the successful initiative designed to end bilingual education — Proposition 227 (see page 24). Tuchman also ran for superintendent in 1994, polling fifth in a field of 12. This time, however, she made the finals.

Although Tuchman won't have 227 on the ballot to bolster her name in November, Eastin cannot be encouraged by the results of the primary. In the first test of her electoral strength as superintendent, she managed only 43 percent of the vote, which means that 57 percent of voters in this election decided they wanted someone other than Delaine Eastin as superintendent. Given that Eastin is a Democrat, and that Democratic turnout was heavier than GOP turnout in the primary, Eastin has reason for concern. Although this is ostensibly a non-partisan race, Eastin is a clearly defined Democrat; her November opponent is a Republican.

In addition, Eastin, a former Fremont assemblywoman long associated with education issues, has developed several negatives in her first term. She has irritated the state's major education groups — which universally opposed 227 and are unlikely to give any backing to Tuchman — and was not endorsed by the powerful California Teachers Association in the primary, as she was in 1994. Back then, she polled 22 percent of the primary vote among 12 candidates, facing off in the general against Maureen DiMarco, Governor Pete Wilson's first education secretary, who polled 14 percent in the primary and was seriously outspent by Eastin. Eastin won the finals with 56 percent.

The role of the state superintendent — never strong in California's cumbersome system of education governance — has diminished over the years, especially since a 1993 court decision gave policy-making authority to the state Board of Education. Still, incumbents have won re-election more often than lost over the past several decades. Eastin's immediate predecessor, Bill Honig, was easily re-elected in the 1986 and 1990 primaries. His predecessor, Wilson Riles himself had been elected to the job three times as well.

Privately, members of California's influential but sometimes internally conflicted education lobby say Eastin has been hampered by an unnecessarily confrontational personal style — not unknown in her years in the Assembly — in her dealings with other educators, the state Board of Education and Wilson. Her first term was characterized by constant bickering with the board over testing and academic standards, and she is regularly frozen out of the budgetary and policy-making process by Wilson, who holds the real budgetary power at the executive level. The two have never been fans of one another, and Wilson's high-profile education proposals — notably his hugely popular class-size reduction program — have sometimes left Eastin looking like the odd person out at a time when education is the bipartisan darling of politicians from both parties.

Eastin

Tuchman

Although she made last-minute efforts to distance herself from Democratic gubernatorial loser Al Checchi, Eastin was roundly criticized during the primary campaign for appearing in television ads extolling Checchi's promise to spend $1,000 more per student to bring California up to the national average in spending-per-pupil. Although not an endorsement of Checchi, per se, it looked like one and became a distinct liability for Eastin as the stumbling Checchi campaign veered oddly out of synch on education — especially after he insisted in an interview that he would never send his kids to public schools.

Despite her downsides, the 50-year-old Eastin remains a formidable political figure. The first woman to be elected state superintendent, she is nationally recognized on many education issues, and is a mesmerizing public speaker. She has long been an advocate of many now-popular education programs, including class-size reduction.

Still, she must face a runoff against Tuchman, who was helped in the primary by her association with Proposition 227, and by the fact that her campaign bought its way onto several Democratic slate mailers. Although the contest is officially nonpartisan, Tuchman is a Republican already being included among the GOP's slate of statewide candidates. Thus, she stands to capitalize on the GOP vote in a nonpartisan contest. She also will benefit from her support of Proposition 227, which captured over 60 percent of the primary vote. And although that measure wasn't necessarily embraced by Latinos statewide, Tuchman is a Latina and thus could be positioned to make a strong pitch for the state's growing cadre of Latino voters. The nonpartisan nature of the race gives Tuchman the opportunity to sidestep the Republican Party's troubles with the Latino community, stemming from its past support for Propositions 187 and 209 — provided she has the money to define herself. If Eastin is allowed to define her, however, it likely will cancel out whatever advantage her ethnicity could bring to the campaign.

— *Sigrid Bathen*

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He's back!

Former Governor Jerry Brown becomes mayor of Oakland

Ever the political ping-pong ball, former Governor Jerry Brown bounced back into elected office June 2 as Oakland's new mayor. Sweeping past 10 opponents, Brown captured the mayoralty with 59 percent of the vote. Forget "small is beautiful," Brown's pet slogan as California governor in the 1970s. His mayoral win was big. Not only did he avoid a runoff, he quite simply ran away with the election. His closest competitor, urban planner and political science professor Ed Blakely, managed just 15 percent of the vote.

In what could be called the "Browning of the Bay Area," Jerry now joins Willie as the second Brown to hold a mayorship. With Willie Brown, the former Assembly speaker, at the helm of San Francisco, the Bay Area now boasts two of California's most colorful political characters as mayors.

But the big question on everyone's mind is: Will the politically restless Jerry Brown — who has run twice for U.S. Senate and three times for president — stick around long enough to rescue Oakland? During the campaign, many speculated that the upwardly mobile Brown, who has not held elected office in 20 years, was only using Oakland as a boost back up the political ladder, positioning himself for another try at the presidency in two years.

Brown

Less than 24 hours after his election, a San Francisco radio station was already taking listeners' bets on how long Brown will stay interested in Oakland.

"Can he pay attention to the mechanics of running a troubled city? I have my doubts," said Assemblywoman Carole Migden (D-San Francisco). Although she acknowledged that Brown is intellectually unmatched and has brought some "prestige and elan" to beleaguered Oakland, Midgen said Brown's political resume does not show much "follow-through on the drudge work."

Brown himself told one newspaper after his election victory: "I'm not naive about what's involved in trying to be mayor of a city with all the poverty and problems Oakland has."

Nevertheless, even his 10 campaign opponents grudgingly conceded that his candidacy nudged Oakland into the national spotlight. TV crews and big-city reporters trailed Brown throughout the campaign; on election night, some 100 reporters from as far away as Boston and New York were literally lined up for interviews at his Jack London Square headquarters/hangout/home.

William Wong, a native Oaklander and former columnist for the *Oakland Tribune*, said many residents believe "Jerry will take us to the Promised Land." Wong said the comment of a black truck driver on election night was typical: "Jerry knows CEOs. He's connected." For Oaklanders tired of being San Francisco's ugly stepsister, Wong said Brown draws "national attention to Oakland that it would never otherwise get."

Voters clearly didn't want more of the political status quo. Running a distant fourth and fifth among voters with 7 and 6 percent of the vote respectively were Vice Mayor Ignacio De La Fuente and Alameda County Supervisor Mary King, both well-connected Democrats but carrying the baggage of the botched Oakland Raiders deal and ties to politics-as-usual.

Despite Brown's flakey "Governor Moonbeam" image and his flighty political past, Brown and his cadre of loyal volunteers knew how to run a grassroots campaign that connected the candidate with voters. During the campaign, Brown met with handfuls of Oaklanders in their homes in neighborhoods throughout the city — nearly 100 such low-key gatherings. "Rather than making big speeches, he went to listen," said Nate Moore, a Brown staffer.

Although his campaign was short on specifics, his message of neighborhood revival, accountability for schools and reliance on his personal "connections" to attract investment to Oakland evidently resonated with voters.

"The question now is, can he deliver on the expectations people have for him?" said Wong.

Between now and January, when he assumes his four-year mayorship, Brown must get down to business. The first task, which he launched even before the election, is a petition drive for a November ballot measure that would give the mayor more clout. Brown's supporters have until June 22nd to gather 30,000 signatures for a measure that would give Oakland's mayor veto power over City Council actions and the power to appoint the city manager. A similar "strong-mayor" ballot measure was defeated in 1996, but given Brown's sweeping mandate from voters, it's likely he can change people's minds this time around.

— *Claudia Buck*

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Ballot Measures

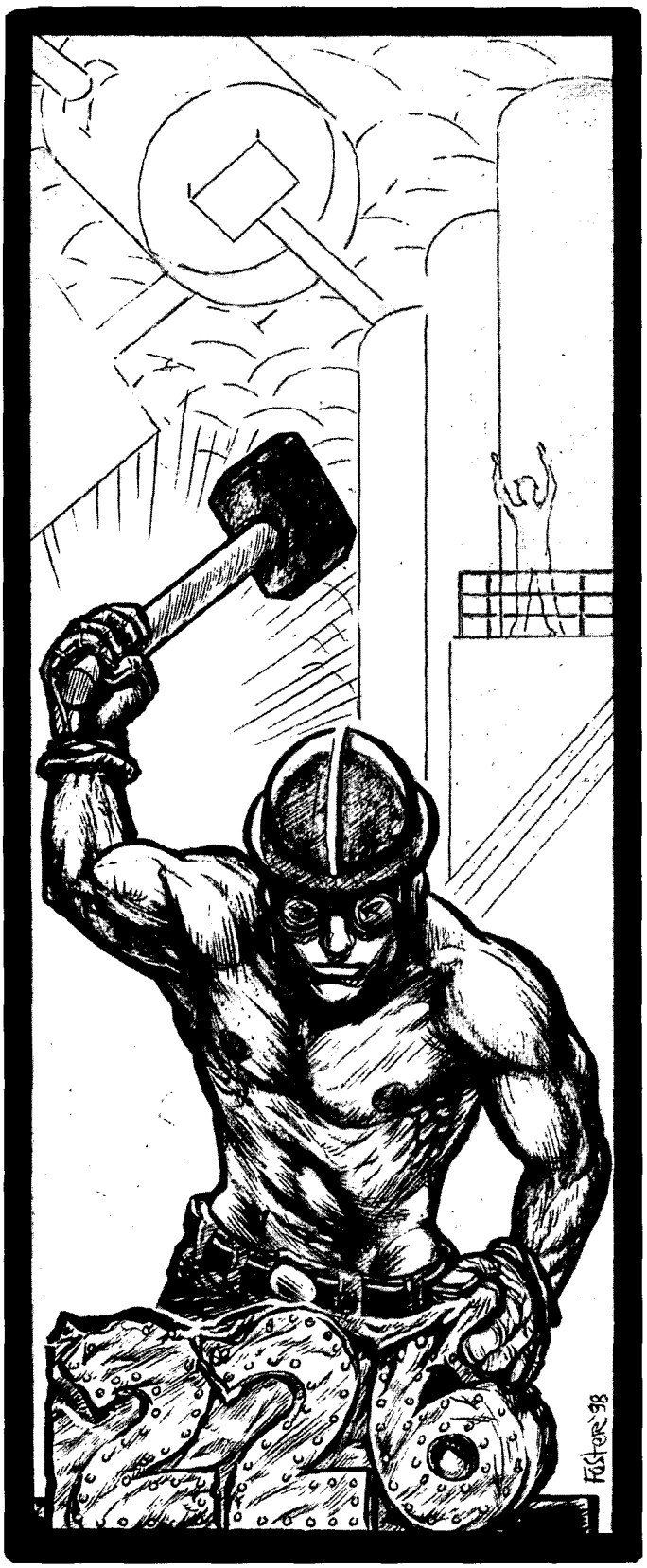

Illustration by Tim Foster

Proposition 226: Labor's Big Victory

Proposition 226 (Union Political Donations)

Yes	2,442,587	(47)
No	**2,808,678**	**(54)**

The laws of physics decree that the closer you are to something, the larger it looks. At 93 million miles from earth, the sun is a comforting bright disk in the sky. At 9.3 million miles, it would be much bigger and a whole lot more dangerous. If one were looking to apply this law to politics, one could do no better than tell the story of Proposition 226.

There was little doubt that the measure looked huge to organized labor — and to its detractors. Its central provision — that any use of union dues for political purposes required an annual signed consent form from each union member — was a dagger aimed squarely at the heart of organized labor's political influence.

In this context, Proposition 226 was a special-interest fight, pitting labor against those who have felt the sting of its organizing efforts both in the legislative arena and at the polls. And in recent elections, special-interest battles have been dismissed by voters, whose reaction may best be described as "please take this fight elsewhere." Thus, it would be easy to attribute the measure's defeat to conventional arguments, including disinclination by some to tip the scales in a brawl and the automatic "no" cast by others confused over the real consequences of an initiative.

And although those factors contributed to the defeat of Proposition 226, there may be another reason, one that runs counter to the voter satisfaction expressed in many primaries for elective office, when experience in office was an asset for individual candidates. As outlined elsewhere, that satisfaction was a political biproduct of the notion that people generally feel good about the state's economic recovery and the prosperity it has produced (see page 8).

But in some small way, the defeat of Proposition 226 may be an indication that an undercurrent of disatisfaction also exists. Not everyone has shared equally in the state's recovery, nor has prosperity been distributed universally. Voters may not be inclined to express that disatisfaction when voting for, say, a governor; there are unacceptable risks, for instance, in choosing an untried businessman over an experienced public servant. But there are no such attendant risks when voting on an argument. Thus, once labor's anti-226 campaign was able even to suggest that the measure was yet another attempt to grab an advantage by haves at the expense of have-nots, it may have touched a nerve with that portion of the electorate that does not believe it has shared equally in the state's recovery.

Proposition 226 rode a long, downhill trail from sure-fire winner to ultimate defeat. Its origins were grass roots: three

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Orange County GOP activists angry about the influence organized labor had exerted in the 1995 campaign over school vouchers and the 1996 presidential election. The initiative they circulated broadened a measure to curtail labor's fund-raising clout that had been approved in Washington state. Their measure also included a provision banning contributions to state campaigns by foreign governments.

From the moment Governor Pete Wilson became involved as the campaign's state chairman, the initiative became a pitched, and highly partisan, battle. Suddenly, Republicans in the U.S. Senate began floating "paycheck protection" as the cornerstone of their campaign-reform ideas. Wilson solicited timely contributions from Indiana entrepreneur J. Patrick Rooney and Grover Norquist, head of the conservative Washington-based Americans for Tax Reform.

The involvement of Norquist's group was the first indication of how hard it would be to get ordinary voters fired up about the issue of union political activity. In the early going, conventional signature gathering lagged, a problem supporters blamed on labor's "street heat" tactics to block signatures. Americans for Tax Reform bankrolled a huge statewide petition mailer, sent with a letter signed by Wilson and enclosed in an envelope that made it look more like a draft notice or an IRS mailing than a political solicitation. The controversial mailer helped guarantee the measure a place on the June ballot.

Once it qualified, the descriptions of what was to come often took some of the most apocalyptic terms imaginable. A February *California Journal* cover story used a graphically manipulated photo of an atomic explosion to illustrate the point, under the title, "The Armageddon Initiative." There seemed little doubt that any measure that sought to restrict the use of union dues on political activity was the ultimate weapon.

After getting mad, labor set about to get even. Unions began by working their membership, which early on gave strong backing to the concept. Union membership bulletins were filled with warnings about the impact Proposition 226 might have on their livelihoods. Organizing efforts revolved around opposition to Proposition 226. And literally millions of labor dollars — much of it collected from the sorts of dues deductions being targeted by 226 — flowed into the opposition campaign.

The opposition also took full advantage of the nervous neutrality by most of the business community. Concerned about potential counter-initiatives and the prospect of increased labor-management tension, key business organizations such as the California Chamber of Commerce and the California Manufacturers Association cut a deal with labor. They'd stay out of the fight if labor would drop its counter measures.

The anxiety of the business community also cooled the GOP's early fire. "Paycheck protection" quietly dropped off the national priority list. Neither Norquist nor the national GOP came through with promised financial help. David Stirling, the winning GOP nominee for state attorney general, publicly opposed the measure. Other Republican leaders, such as gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren, kept the issue at arms' length. The measure also ran afoul of one of the GOP's few supporters among organized labor, the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, which purchased space on a leading Republican slate mailer to promote its opposition.

While the GOP's friends were bailing, labor's allies were coming through in a big way. Deprived of most of the unions' direct backing, Democratic candidates sought ways to link their campaigns with the burgeoning opposition effort. Eventual gubernatorial nominee Gray Davis spent early money buying spots on most of labor's slate mailers, and he secured the lion's share of labor's gubernatorial endorsements. "Proposition 226 is my secret weapon," Davis said during the campaign.

While the organizing helped turn around union membership, by most accounts, the campaign itself turned on television advertising. Surprisingly, it was proponents of 226 who struck first, thanks to an "issue advocacy" buy underwritten by another conservative group, Citizens for a Sound Economy. But the opposition swamped the field, beginning with an effective early spot zeroing in on the involvement of "outside interests" Norquist and Rooney. Subsequent ads threatened dire consequences for the interests of working people — for instance, the loss of health care and the export of jobs.

"The union bosses did not fight and win a debate against paycheck protection," said "Yes on 226" campaign manager Ron Nehring. "Instead, they avoided the issue by convincing people it was something that it was not."

Opponents defended the advertising, saying the supporters' real mistake was diverting their attention from their message. Pro-226 spots focused on the content of the opposition ads, and one spot depicted a stereotype "union boss" in a smoke-filled room. "We had to explain who was behind it, and that was never answered," said "No on 226" political consultant Gale Kaufman. "Instead of being on message, their first [official] 'yes' spot was on us."

With most of the springtime polls showing Proposition 226 in a free fall, labor had to ensure that its membership went to the polls, and they did that with spectacular success. According to the *Los Angeles Times* exit poll, roughly one-in-three voters was from a union household, and more than two-thirds of those people voted against 226. While non-union voters favored the measure, the relatively narrow majority was also a far cry from the huge advantage it had enjoyed going in.

"Voters will not reward a reach for advantage," said GOP consultant Tony Quinn.

As analysis of the result fades, the real question is what the future holds. Republicans believe the increased union turnout was a one-shot deal, and that labor won't have the same impact in November. But Democrats believe the campaign has rekindled activist energy among union members, particularly the blue-collar "Reagan Democrats" who have been drifting away from the party.

As for the concept itself, proponents say they have far from given up, blaming their defeat on labor's $23 million opposition campaign. Although he failed to deliver on a promised $10 million campaign of his own, Norquist says at least 40 state legislatures have some sort of check-off measure before them, and he predicts at least 10 will pass. Moreover, Norquist and Ruehling say the concept will be back before voters again in the spring of 2000. "I've got bad news for the unions," Wilson told a GOP post-election breakfast. "This was only Round One."

— *Steve Scott*

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Proposition 227 (Bilingual Education)

Yes	**3,243,333**	**(61)**
No	2,091,449	(39)

Proposition 227 was difficult to pigeonhole. In the so-called "year of education," was a measure designed to radically alter bilingual classroom teaching an education issue? Or was it, as many of its opponents claimed, just another Republican-sponsored "wedge issue" designed to pit Latino interests against those of Anglos?

The measure itself was the work of Ron Unz, an independently wealthy Silicon Valley executive and former Republican gubernatorial candidate, who nearly single-handedly placed the state's bilingual teaching program under the electoral microscope. His assertion: only 5 percent of foreign-born students successfully master English each year in state schools. With money of his own to throw at an initiative effort, first to bankroll the signature-gathering endeavor and then to fund the campaign, Unz pushed his remedy calling for no more than a limited one-year English immersion program for all foreign-born students.

From the beginning, the notion that bilingual education was failing to do its job and needed fixing resonated with voters already concerned about quality of education and growing numbers of foreign born crowding public schools. Early polls showed 70 percent and higher approval ratings, including 80 percent among Latinos, according to a *Los Angeles Times* poll. With that kind of initial support, the road to Election Day looked like a downhill coast.

But that was before some big-bucks opponents weighed into the fray, first among them the California Teachers Association. In addition to the CTA, the measure was opposed by hundreds of school districts and the California Federation of Teachers, which provided more cash to the effort. Seasoned hardball consultant Richie Ross was enlisted to run the "no" campaign. Latino support especially eroded during the campaign, falling from 80 percent to a little more than a third by Election Day.

But the total groundswell of support for 227 proved difficult to turn back. From the beginning, it was the opposition's job to cut into support for English-only classroom teaching. And although the initiative passed with a slimmer margin than polls indicated, it still gained a hefty 61 percent voter approval. Unz himself was a tireless campaigner, criss-crossing the state to appear at rallies and in televised debates on behalf of the measure.

But Unz and his supporters were hard pressed to keep 227 from being labelled as the third in a trilogy of recent "wedge issue" initiatives. It was inevitable that the opposition would link 227 with Propostions 187 (public aide to illegal immigrants) and 209 (affirmative action) as a "them against us" decision. Unz worked hard to court Latino votes and bring Latinos themselves into the campaign hierarchy. The co-author of the measure, for instance, was a Latina — Gloria Matta Tuchman, a Southern California teacher and candidate for superintendent of public instruction.

But the "no" forces had the more compelling arguments when campaigning in the Hispanic community. Spearheaded by MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund), they organized lectures and house parties in the Latino community. Even when Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan chipped in to the "yes" campaign with a $250,000 TV buy featuring his Spanish-speaking daughter, it likely did more to garner support among Anglos than Latinos. The popularity — or lack thereof — of 227 in the Latino community was no more evident than by the fact that every major candidate for governor — including Republican Attorney General Dan Lungren — came out against the measure at a time when those candidates were courting the Latino votes that would be crucial in the gubernatorial contest.

And then there was the late appearance of Governor Pete Wilson on behalf of the pro-227 campaign. Wilson, who sponsored both Propositions 187 and 209, is the antiChrist among Latinos, and Unz sought, to no avail, to keep him away from the 227 campaign. Latino voters interested in lashing back at Wilson found an opportunity with Proposition 227.

Opposition arguments centered on the loss of local control if school districts were forced into a "one size fits all" language instruction solution. That got voters' attention but never succeeded in turning around the Unz-promoted perception that bilingual programs benefited already-bloated school bureaucracies and teachers financially more so than they benefited students academically. And CTA and the education community — even with a $2.7 million-dollar TV advertising budget — never countered a visual picture in voters' minds as powerful as that of Hispanic parents picketing to force schools to teach their children English — the central image used to hammer home the need for abolishing bilingual education.

Even the heavy blitz of additional advertising made possible by the $1.5 million contribution from Spanish language Univision TV station owner and guardian angel, Jerry Perenchio, did not significantly dent support for the measure.

As with many initiatives in recent years, the losing side was in court the morning after Election Day, suing to have the results overturned.

— *Kathleen Les*

The "Other" propositions

Proposition 219 (Ballot measures)

Yes	**3,179,530**	**(67)**
No	1,571,721	(33)

Proposition 220 (Superior Court Judges)

Yes	**3,126,701**	**(64)**
No	1,741,016	(36)

Proposition 221 (Court Oversight)

Yes	**3,851,146**	**(81)**
No	924,688	(19)

Proposition 222 (Murder Penalty)

Yes	**3,869,678**	**(77)**
No	1,162,928	(23)

Proposition 223 (School Spending)

Yes	2,327,342	(46)
No	**2,777,825**	**(55)**

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Proposition 224 (Contracting Out)

Yes	1,885,601	(38)
No	**3,053797**	**(62)**

Proposition 225 (Congressional Term Limits)

Yes	**2,617,937**	**(53)**
No	2,335,969	(47)

All together, nine propositions went before voters in June, although only two — the aforementioned Propositions 226 and 227 — generated any heat and intensity beyond the narrow interest groups affected by each measure.

Of the seven also-ran measures, voters approved five and scuttled two. Proposition 219, which passed two-to-one, mandates that all state and local ballot measures apply in the same way to all parts of the jurisdiction that passed them. This issue was most often raised in connection with Proposition 140 -- the term-limits initiative. Some opponents of 140 argued that voters in Orange County — where the measure passed overwhelmingly — ought not to be able to impose term limits on San Francisco — where it failed. Proposition 219 put that argument to rest. Propositions 220 and 221 applied to state courts. The former allows county judges in each county to consolidate their municipal courts into a unified superior court. The latter extends oversight and disciplinary authority of the state Commission on Judicial Performance to court commissioners and referees. The commission currently has that authority for judges. Proposition 222 delivered a double whammy to convicted murders. First, it fixed the penalty for murder of a police officer to life without the possibility of parole. Second, it eliminated conduct credits for anyone convicted of murder. Those credits are used to reduce the time a felon must spend behind bars. Finally, Proposition 225 declared as the official position of the voters of California that term limits be applied to the United States Congress. It instructs the state Legislature to formally ask that the Congress enact an amendment to that effect to the federal constitution.

The two measures that failed — Propositions 223 and 224 — were both initiatives designed to manage some facet of state government. The former, primarily the brainchild of United Teachers of Los Angeles, effectively lost its only proponent midway through the campaign when UTLA abandoned it. Informally known as the "95-5" initiative because it sought to limit school district spending on administration, 223 was opposed by just about everybody else in the education lobby. The California Teachers Association and the California Federation of Teachers were neutral. Opponents argued that the initiative benefited large districts (read: Los Angeles Unified) to the detriment of smaller districts. Proponents failed to send representatives to several television and community debates on the measure, leaving the floor and the air to opponents alone. Supporters say they may revisit the measure in another election, hopefully one which does not include other big- ticket education measures that drain financial resources. Although strongly opposed by most of the education lobby, 223 did draw support from some disparate sources — including U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan and multimillionaire ex-politico Michael Huffington, who donated $150,000 near the end of the primary campaign.

Appealing on its face — promising to put more resources into "direct services" to students and less into administration — the measure would have severely penalized districts that failed to comply and, its detractors said, was confusing and imprecise on the definition of "administrative" vs. "direct" services. In any case, an influential coalition of education groups — the California School Boards Association, the Association of California School Administrators, the California School Employees Association which represents non-teaching employees and a host of individual school districts — poured an estimated $2.5 million into advertising and phone banks in the final weeks before the primary, while the "pro" side hardly seemed to have a presence, much less the necessary financial resources.

Proposition 224, meanwhile, would have benefited public-employee unions — especially engineers —because it would have required that any engineering or architectural contract for $50,000 or more be given only through a public process with sealed bids. It would have required private firms to include all anticipated costs in their bids, including the cost to the state for monitoring the contract — a provision that well-heeled engineering firms contended put them at a huge disadvantage if they had to compete on a cost basis with state-employed engineers. Opponents, who had the treasury in this below-the-radar-screen campaign, included a variety of interests, including the Chamber of Commerce, League of California Cities, California State Association of Counties and the California Teachers Association. They termed it a "competition killer," which was enough of a slogan for voters wary of stacking the deck in favor of a state bureaucracy. It lost by more than 1 million votes.

— A.G. Block, Sigrid Bathen

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Board of Equalization

District 1 (52% D - 29% R)

Klehs (D)*	**865,774**	**(100)**
Watson (L)	**250,806**	**(100)**

Kennita Watson ought to be a hero for Libertarians after attracting nearly six times more votes than did the Libertarian candidate for governor. Still 600,000 votes short of incumbent Johan Klehs, though.

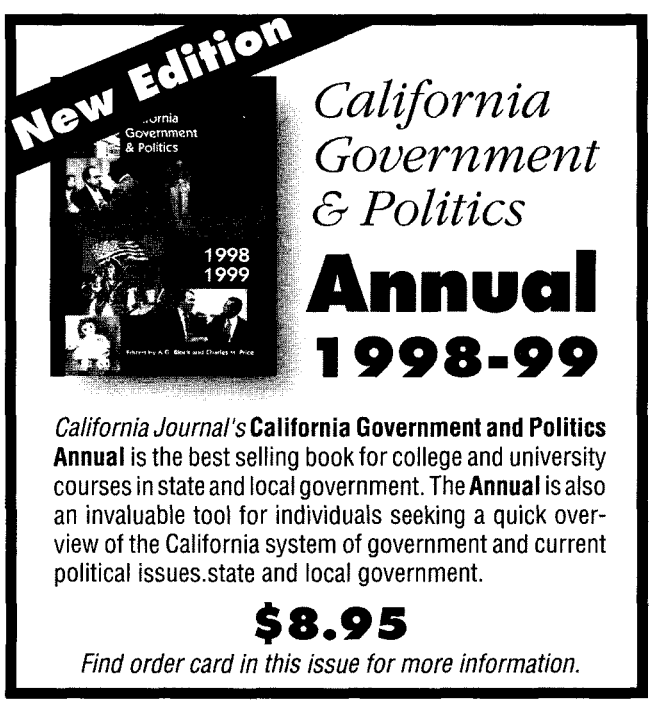
District 2 (43% D - 41% R)

Micallef (D)	268,031	(50)
Santos (D)	**270,287**	**(50)**
Andal (R)*	**677,191**	**(R)**

A spirited Democratic primary produced Tom Santos, who has virtually no chance to take this seat away from former Assemblyman Dean Andal, who received 56 percent of the overall vote despite heavy Democratic turnout.

District 3 (38% D - 45% R)

Christian-Heising (D)	**177,319**	**(45)**
Clayton (D)	67,208	(17)
Spiegler (D)	154,659	(39)
Leone (R)	81,452	(12)
Parrish (R)	**217,571**	**(33)**
Schooler (R)	64,080	(10)
Stieringer (R)	42,617	(6)
Styles (R)	45,800	(7)
Wilson (R)	212,628	(32)
Graham (L)	**33,980**	**(100)**
Quirk (PF)	**14,170**	**(100)**



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It wasn't until a week after Election Day that the winner of the Republican primary emerged. Fewer than 5,000 votes separated Craig Wilson, chief of staff to termed-out incumbent Ernie Dronenburg, and corporate controller Claude Parrish once the initial tally was done. But Parrish ultimately prevailed, thanks to his winning San Diego and Los Angeles counties, while Wilson succeeded in Orange, Riverside and Imperial counties. The victory was especially sweet for Parrish, who has tried three times to win a board seat. He did so by cornering the market on slates, both Republican and Democratic, which are critical in low-profile races. Parrish also put out a mailer to introduce himself to the district's eight million voters. Wilson, meanwhile, relied on a mail and radio campaign, plus his superior ballot title: equalization board member's deputy. Wilson also benefitted from his boss' financial assistance; Dronenburg lent Wilson over $60,000 for the campaign. The other Republican who figured in the race, Del Mar Councilman Andy Schooler, never made an impact after committing $50,000 of his substantial personal resources. On the Democratic side, Mary Christian-Heising will once again be the candidate in November, just as she was in 1994 when Dronenburg beat her by almost 30 points. Former Assembly candidate Fred Clayton, who until recently was a Republican, decided not to invest any of his own money for the Democratic nomination.

District 4 (56% D - 27% R)

Armenta (D)	50,015	(9)
Chiang (D)*	**196,962**	**(34)**
Eisner (D)	47,116	(8)
Fernandez (D)	140,441	(24)
Freis (D)	59,769	(10)
Vahedi (D)	82,947	(14)
Adams (R)	**180,749**	**(80)**
Khalil (R)	44,201	(20)
Bailey (G)	**20,805**	**(100)**
Jennings (L)	**22,186**	**(100)**
Isaacson (PF)	**20,428**	**(100)**

Although he wasn't an official "incumbent," John Chiang enjoyed the advantages of incumbency as he won a solid victory over an array of contestants for the seat once held by current Representative Brad Sherman. Chiang, who had been Sherman's chief aide, wore the ballot designation "Acting Equalization Board member," having been tapped by Sherman to hold the interim post after his election to Congress. Board staffer Tyrone Vahedi also enjoyed considerable financial support, and ran a competitive campaign, but could do no better than third. The surprise runner-up was Jose Fernandez, an educator who did relatively little campaigning. Most analysts attribute Fernandez' strong showing to Latino voters, especially those in the San Fernando Valley, who were mobilized to vote in other races but punched the card for Fernandez while they were at it.

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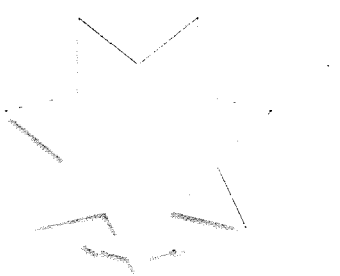

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State of the State

commentary

by Lance T. Izumi

Class size

Everyone loves reducing the size of classes in our public schools. Parents, classroom teachers (despite the grumblings of their union leaders) and politicians love it. Indeed, it may be the single most popular education reform enacted in California in recent years.

With such broad support, it is unsurprising that the state's class-size-reduction program is receiving generous funding. In 1997-98, approximately $1.5 billion will be spent on reducing class size (a half-billion-dollar increase over the previous fiscal year). To lock in funding in future years, an initiative will likely appear on the November ballot that will permanently reduce class size in grades kindergarten through third.

Yet, in spite of its widespread popularity, the empirical question still remains: Is reducing class size really an effective way to improve student performance? According to University of Rochester Professor Eric Hanushek, perhaps the nation's top education economist, the answer is "no." In a recent study entitled "The evidence on class size," Hanushek notes that existing evidence shows little, if any, correlation between class-size reduction and increased student achievement.

For example, between 1950 and 1995, pupil-teacher ratios fell nationally by 35 percent. Yet student performance indicators such as scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress have not gone up. Also, after surveying 277 studies that attempted to correlate pupil-teacher ratio and student achievement, Hanushek concluded: "There is little reason to believe that smaller class sizes systematically yield higher student achievement. While some studies point in that direction, an almost equal number point in the opposite direction."

The data from overseas also offers no encouragement for class-size-reduction supporters. In examining the relationship between student performance and pupil-teacher ratios using six international tests in math and science administered between 1960 and 1990, Hanushek actually found a slight indication that larger class sizes were related to increased student performance.

To counter these inconvenient facts, California supporters of class size reduction point to Tennessee's supposedly successful class-size-reduction program. Close scrutiny, however, reveals that the Tennessee program's "success" is much more illusory than real. Called "Project Star," the Tennessee program reduced sizes in some K-3 classes to 15 students per class (versus about 23 in a regular-sized class). Tennessee then collected data on students randomly assigned to classes with reduced sizes and those randomly assigned to regular-sized classes. Despite the popular interpretation of uniform success, Hanushek found that although the Tennessee program did help kindergarten students improve their performance, there was no increase in student performance from the first grade on up: "If smaller classes were valuable in each grade, the achievement gap would widen. It does not. In fact, the gap remains essentially unchanged through the sixth grade, even though the experimental students from the small classes return to the larger classes for the fourth through the sixth grade. The inescapable conclusion is that the smaller classes at best matter in kindergarten."

Even more important for California is the fact that the Tennessee experiment compared student performance in classes of 15 versus regular-sized classes of 23. Hanushek observes that, "The California [class-size-reduction] program was designed to move classes down to around that of the regular-sized classes in the Tennessee experiment. No evidence from [the Tennessee experiment] relates to the likely effects of such a policy change (as opposed to moving classes down to the level of 15-to-1)." Hanushek therefore concludes that, "across-the-board policies of class-size reductions, such as those enacted in 1996 for elementary education through grade three across the State of California, are unlikely to have a beneficial effect on overall student performance."

What makes the biggest difference, says Hanushek, is teacher quality, not class size. While California's proposed class-size-reduction initiative includes a competency test for newly hired teachers, the initiative contains no such test for current teachers (the fear being that too many veteran teachers would fail). Yet, an incompetent teacher is just as incompetent whether he or she is in front of a class of 20 or a class of 30. Says Hanushek, "If we are to have a real impact on teaching, we must evaluate actual teaching performance and use such evaluations in school decisions. We cannot rely on requirements for entry [into the teaching profession], but must switch to using actual performance in the classroom."

Decreasing class size is easy — it maintains the existing school structure while simply increasing spending. The harder choice would be to change the organizational and incentive structure in public schools through reforming teacher tenure, contracting out services (including teaching), and wider school choice. These alternatives may be more difficult to enact, but they will more likely produce the result everybody wants: greater student achievement.

Contributing Editor Lance Izumi is a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute. Comments on this column may be addressed to the author c/o editor@statenet.com.

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Congress

District 1 (38% D - 33% R)

Hennefer (D)	19,786	(22)
Thompson (D)	**69,582**	**(78)**
Chase (R)	12,551	(31)
Luce (R)	**27,683**	**(69)**
Oglesby (L)	1,724	(43)
Rossi (L)	**2,302**	**(57)**
Jones (PF)	**3,081**	**(100)**

State Senator Mike Thompson, with his widespread name ID and long list of endorsements throughout this sprawling north-coast district, did not get a free ride. To be sure, Thompson came out squarely on top, but he was forced to part with $400,000 of the more than $670,000 he raised to fend off his Democratic rival. For awhile it looked as though Democrats had cleared the field for Thompson. They persuaded the 1996 nominee, Michela Alioto, to choose another race, and incumbent Republican Frank Riggs decided not to take on Thompson, opting instead to run — briefly — for the U.S. Senate. But San Francisco attorney Jim Hennefer was not as accommodating as Alioto and, fueled by $400,000 of his own money, ran TV and radio ads and a late mailer criticizing Thompson's ties to special interests. Saying he refused to accept more than $100 from his grass-roots supporters, political-newcomer Hennefer, like certain wealthy top-of-the-ticket candidates, pointed to his freedom from special-interest influence. But as happened with those candidates, voters opted instead for the experienced and familiar. Napa County Supervisor Mark Luce, a chemical engineer for Chevron, takes on Thompson in November. Luce entered the race late and has only raised about $20,000, which means he'll need a lot of help to wage a contest in a district Democrats are determined to win. Whether he gets that help from national Republican sources remains to be seen. Thompson captured 51 percent of the overall vote despite a well-funded Democratic opponent and a contested GOP primary — signs of strength that may cause the GOP to put its resources elsewhere.

District 2 (39% D - 44% R)

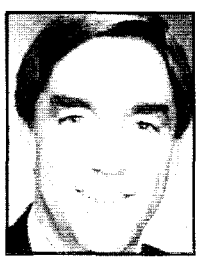
Braden (D)	**42,105**	**(100)**
Herger (R)*	**96,155**	**(90)**
Todd (R)	10,818	(10)
Thiessen (NL)	**4,760**	**(100)**

Even with ultraconservative Bob Todd in the mix to possibly siphon off GOP votes, incumbent Wally Herger emerged from the primary with 63 percent of the popular vote in this rural northeastern-corner district. Democratic sacrificial lamb Roberts Braden, a retired educator from Chico will, as he did in 1996, take his lumps.

District 3 (44% D - 40% R)

Basrai (D)	3,404	(6)
Beeman (D)	13,051	(24)
Dunn (D)	**32,140**	**(59)**
Kent (D)	6,121	(11)
Alby (R)	25,937	(32)
Arrowsmith (R)	2,057	(3)
Ose (R)	**42,314**	**(52)**
Schaupp (R)	11,561	(14)
Crain (L)	**2,506**	**(100)**

Dunn



Ose

Assemblywoman Barbara Alby, the Folsom Republican originally favored to win this race, was instead soundly trounced by Sacramento developer and political neophyte Doug Ose for a seat being vacated by the retirement of longtime Democratic incumbent Vic Fazio. Ose mounted an aggressive, some say negative, campaign, and loaned himself $1 million, much of it for advertising which targeted Alby's spotty attendance record in the Assembly, as well as her alleged propensity for travel. Alby spent only about one-fourth that amount, generally focusing on her legislative record on victims' rights and domestic violence issues. Her campaign never seemed to get off the ground, and she appeared constantly on the defensive, forced to respond to Ose's barrage of attack ads. The increasingly conservative district has long been regarded as a key seat for Republicans, although the nasty tone of the Ose-Alby campaign has reinvigorated Democrats for the general election, when Carmichael water lawyer Sandie Dunn, also a political newcomer endorsed by Fazio, will face off against Ose. It could get nastier, and certainly more expensive. Ose insisted that his primary campaign focused on issues and "accountability," adding that his focus in the general will be a more positive approach on subjects such as water, flood control, agriculture, trade and tax issues. Ose was not without his share of potential gaffes, however, including charges by Fazio that Ose ads implied an endorsement by Fazio. Ose also was lambasted late in the campaign by Republican candidate Charles Schaupp, an Esparto farmer who charged Ose attempted to "bribe" him to leave the race after alleged contacts between Ose and advisers to Schaupp — a charge denied by Ose. Ose also showed up on a Democratic slate mailer, prompting Dunn to charge Ose with running a dishonest campaign. Ose insisted he was just trying to be bipartisan.

District 4 (37% D - 47% R)

Shapiro (D)	**50,601**	**(100)**
Doolittle (R)*	**106,327**	**(100)**
Winterrowd (L)	**7,180**	**(100)**

Another easy ride for conservative Republican John Doolittle.

District 5 (54% D - 30% R)

Matsui (D)*	**88,878**	**(100)**
Dinsmore (R)	**22,355**	**(65)**
Gorre (R)	12,126	(35)
Tuma (L)	**2,493**	**(100)**

It's a tough, thankless, unrewarding job, but somebody — somebody — has to take on 10-term incumbent Bob

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Matsui. Since 1992, that task has fallen to Republican Robert Dinsmore, now about to crash into the windmill for the fourth time.

District 6 (52% D - 29% 4)		
Woolsey (D)*	**100,477**	**(100)**
McAuliffe (R)	**28,876**	**(57)**
Stavert (R)	21,924	(43)
Barreca (NL)	**3,561**	**(100)**

Building contractor Ken McAuliffe gets bragging rights at the next state Republican convention, but he can forget about going to Congress.

District 7 (60% D - 23% R)		
Miller (D)*	**81,239**	**(100)**
Reece (R)	**25,226**	**(100)**

Re-rack that result for November.

District 8 (60% D - 14% R)		
Pelosi (D)*	**92,362**	**(100)**
Martz (R)	**13,316**	**(100)**
Smithstein (NL)	**3,282**	**(100)**

Incumbent Nancy Pelosi won her last re-election with 85 percent of the vote, and she got 85 percent of the vote in this year's open primary. She's in a rut.

District 9 (66% D - 12% R)		
Harper (D)	11,731	(12)
Lee (D)*	**78,379**	**(82)**
Stewart (D)	5,266	(6)
Sanders (R)	**12,482**	**(100)**
Ruehlig (NL)	**1,620**	**(100)**
Sanders (PF)	**2,318**	**(100)**

The real shootin' in this Oakland-based district occurred in the spring special election called after the retirement of longtime incumbent Ron Dellums. Former state Senator Barbara Lee dominated all comers in the special, winning the seat of her former boss without a runoff. Lee's re-election is a forgone conclusion, so she's splitting time between getting used to Washington and trying to get Alameda Supervisor Keith Carson elected to her Senate seat.

District 10 (41% D - 42% R)		
Tauscher (D)*	**81,376**	**(100)**
Amador (R)	4,097	(6)
Ball (R)	**35,016**	**(56)**
Blake (R)	15,594	(25)
Williams (R)	8,373	(13)
Janlois (NL)	**2,449**	**(100)**
Place (RF)	**2,039**	**(100)**

If you go by registration alone, moderate incumbent Ellen Tauscher shouldn't have even won in the first place. But win she did in 1996, thanks to a $2 million campaign, of which $1.4 million was her own money. Since arriving in Congress, Tauscher has established a reputation as a pragmatic moderate, and when it came time to put her incumbency to the test, there weren't many takers. Efforts to recruit former '49ers star Brent Jones and local talk-show host Barbara Simpson failed, and the field was essentially left to whomever wanted to run. Lawrence Livermore Lab national security analyst Charles Ball was the best funded of the four candidates, and he picked up some decent GOP endorsements. The fact that he had any money at all put him ahead of the other three Republicans, but tally up the vote in the open primary and you see the mountain he has to climb — Tauscher won about 18,000 more votes than the entire GOP field put together.

District 11 (46% D - 42% R)		
Figueroa (D)	**34,829**	**(100)**
Pombo (R)*	**67,875**	**(100)**
Baird (L)	**3,483**	**(100)**

This Central Valley district once was considered competitive for Democrats, but incumbent Richard Pombo, he of the cowboy hat and conservative philosophy, has secured it for the GOP. Republican registration numbers have been steadily gaining during the decade of the 1990s.

District 12 (54% D - 25% R)		
Lantos (D)*	**79,594**	**(100)**
Evans (R)	**24,437**	**(100)**
Moloney (L)	**7,600**	**(100)**

Republican Robert Evans managed to squeeze in at the last minute to file, but he won't cause much trouble for the veteran Lantos.

District 13 (55% D - 25% R)		
Stark (D)*	**63,936**	**(100)**
Goetz (R)	**26,516**	**(100)**
Bevlikjian (NL)	**2,701**	**(100)**

On and on and on and on goes Pete Stark.

District 14 (47% D - 33% R)		
Eshoo (D)*	**77,273**	**(94)**
Kiehle (D)	5,049	(6)
Haugen (R)	**16,191**	**(53)**
Manzler (R)	14,394	(47)
Dehn (L)	**2,626**	**(100)**
Currivan (NL)	**1,827**	**(100)**

The Republican primary was pretty close, with teacher Chris Haugen edging out small businessman Bud Manzler. But Haugen will be headed back to the classroom this fall.

District 15 (45% D - 36% R)		
Lane (D)	**30,619**	**(80)**
Vlakancic (D)	7,663	(20)
Campbell (R)*	**77,613**	**(100)**
Strutner (NL)	**2,202**	**(100)**

The Tom Campbell story this year isn't his re-election. Campbell's contribution to this year's festivities was the blanket primary, the initiative he co-authored two years ago. Campbell says the relatively moderate crop of candidates in both political parties demonstrates the wisdom of the blanket primary system. But 1998 is clearly not a "mad as hell" year among voters. We'll see how things go when the electorate gets its dander up.

District 16 (52% D - 30% R)		
Lofgren (D)*	**53,906**	**(100)**
Thayn (R)	**16,785**	**(100)**
Black (NL)	**3,957**	**(100)**

The results should be the same in the fall, with incumbent Zoe Lofgren going back to D.C.

District 17 (52% D - 30% R)		
Dunn (D)	5,397	(8)
Farr (D)*	**63,599**	**(92)**
Cares (R)	2,730	(8)
McCampbell (R)	**31,950**	**(92)**
Garrett (L)	**2,022**	**(100)**
Hartley (NL)	**1,019**	**(100)**

Incumbent Sam Farr faces yet another lopsided contest against Republican Bill McCampbell, a lawyer who runs an international consulting business.

District 18 (50% D - 36% R)		
Condit (D)*	**74,314**	**(100)**
Aaroe (L)	**9,169**	**(100)**

This is one Central Valley enclave where Republicans don't even come calling. "Blue Dog" Democrat Gary Condit owns it.

District 19 (42% D - 45% R)		
Radanovich (R)*	**92,430**	**(100)**
Richter (L)	**19,734**	**(100)**

Two-term incumbent George Radanovich faces a brutal battle this fall. After all, what can be more brutal in an election year than boredom?

District 20 (54% D - 33% R)		
Dooley (D)*	**27,646**	**(78)**
Estrada (D)	6,401	(18)
Vontz (D)	1,402	(4)
Nunes (R)	13,320	(48)
Unruh (R)	**14,345**	**(52)**

Incumbent Cal Dooley's influence in the House has increased as co-

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Dooley

Unruh

founder of the 43-member New Democrat Coalition of moderate and conservative Democrats. At home, however, he emerged from his primary on shakier ground. In a blanket primary, experience in other states holds that an incumbent held to under 50 percent of the popular vote may be vulnerable. Dooley managed 44 percent. In other words, voters in his district already have had one opportunity to vote for Dooley — and more than half opted for somebody else. Does this mean he loses in November to Republican Cliff Unruh, longtime field rep for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce? Not necessarily. Does it mean that this district moves higher on target lists? You bet.

District 21 (37% D - 49% R)		
Thomas (R)*	**77,519**	**(100)**
Evans (RF)	**20,732**	**(100)**

Bill Thomas' influence remains virtually unscathed in this conservative Central Valley district.

District 22 (41% D - 41% R)		
Capps (D)*	**67,635**	**(100)**
Bordonaro (R)	**54,448**	**(89)**
Harrison (R)	6,845	(11)
Bakhaus (I)	**1,867**	**(100)**
Porter (Ref)	**682**	**(100)**

The real contest in this rematch

Capps

Bordonaro

between incumbent Lois Capps, widow of former Representative Walter Capps, and Paso Robles Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro, will be in November, although Capps has the edge of incumbency, albeit brief, as well as the advantage conferred by the popularity of her late husband. In addition, she polled better than 50 percent of the total vote in the blanket primary — an indication of strength heading toward the fall. Capps won a nasty special election last March, characterized by a dizzying array of independent-expenditure ads on subjects ranging from abortion to term limits. This intensely competitive district promises another compelling contest this fall.

District 23 (42% D - 40% R)		
Gonzalez (D)	**36,109**	**(100)**
Gallegly (R)*	**62,006**	**(100)**

Incumbent Elton Gallegly isn't the favorite of many in the Latino community, given his hard-line stance on immigration issues. With Latino political leaders feeling their oats as a result of recent gains in the San Fernando Valley, there may be a temptation to go after Gallegly with attorney Dan Gonzalez. But the district is hard country for any Democrat of any ethnicity.

District 24 (45% D - 38% R)		
Sherman (D)*	**55,626**	**(100)**
Gelman (R)	12,291	(30)
Hoffman (R)	**21,244**	**(52)**
Westmiller (R)	7,270	(18)
Miller (L)	**2,178**	**(100)**
Carter (NL)	**2,673**	**(100)**
Shroyer (PF)	**1,639**	**(100)**

With registration numbers chronically weak for Democrats, the GOP has always had designs on this western San Fernando Valley seat. The last two times out, they lost with a "Mr. Inside" as their candidate (former Wilson aide Richard Sybert), so this year they recruited a "Mr. Outside." Self-made millionaire Randy Hoffman, who founded satellite tracking company Magellan Systems, loaned himself nearly half a million dollars and emphasized public safety issues in the campaign. But for the other two woefully underfunded Republicans in the race, Hoffman was the issue. Conservative columnist Joe Gelman and businessman William Westmiller denounced Hoffman as an "empty suit," with Gelman suggesting that comparisons with 1994 Senatorial candidate Michael Huffington were unfair ... to Huffington. Hoffman's campaign brushed off the critiques, but issues of experience were on the front of most voters' brains, thanks to the high-profile Democratic gubernatorial battle. While he handily beat his two rivals, Hoffman managed only 52 percent of the GOP vote. Moreover, incumbent Brad Sherman, the eventual Democratic target, pulled down a more than respectable 54 percent of the total vote in the open primary. With a potential personal bankroll in the millions, the contest should be something of a free ride for the GOP's congressional leadership — they can make Sherman work without spending extensively. But in an incumbency year, Sherman may not seem like quite so inviting a target these days.

District 25 (38% D - 46% R)		
McKeon (R)*	**69,145**	**(100)**
Acker (L)	**18,660**	**(100)**

Incumbent Buck McKeon doesn't even draw a Democrat this time out.

District 26 (59% D - 24% R)		
Berman (D)*	**35,833**	**(66)**
Godinez (D)	18,740	(33)
Armoudian (G)	**1,785**	**(100)**
Ros (L)	**2,277**	**(100)**
Cossak (NL)	**1,246**	**(100)**

The campaign of San Fernando mayor Rudy Godinez started mostly in a fit of pique, the product of a long-running feud between Godinez and incumbent Howard Berman. But Godinez found himself benefitting from the lack of a Republican challenger and the extensive effort to get out Latino votes in the San Fernando Valley on behalf of state Senate candidate Richard Alarcon. Berman still won, but the Godinez campaign may have laid down a marker for future contests, once Berman steps aside.

District 27 (44% D - 39% R)		
Gordon (D)	**34,872**	**(100)**
Rogan (R)*	**56,179**	**(100)**
New (L)	**4,093**	**(100)**

With registration trending their way, some Democrats believe incumbent James Rogan can be had. Former Screen Actors Guild president Barry Gordon lost in the primary last time out, but the field was cleared for him and most expect an expensive battle in the fall. One troublesome sign for Gordon, though, is the new-found comfort with incumbency. Rogan pulled nearly 60 percent of the vote in the open primary.

District 28 (41% D - 43% R)		
Nelson (D)	**30,861**	**(100)**
Amaru (R)	3,573	(6)
Dreier (R)*	**58,615**	**(94)**
Sheasby (G)	**1,775**	**(100)**
Douglas (L)	**2,018**	**(100)**
Allison (NL)	**656**	**(100)**

Veteran David Dreier passed on a Senate run to continue as Newt

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Gingrich's California connection, and nothing here will keep him from continuing that role.

District 29 (56% D - 25% R)		
Waxman (D)*	**69,973**	**(100)**
Churchman (R)	10,935	(44)
Gottlieb (R)	**13,827**	**(56)**
Binkley (L)	**2,600**	**(100)**
Blasdell-Wilkins (NL)	**2,070**	**(100)**

Businessman Mike Gottleib wins a meaningless GOP primary for the right to get stomped by veteran tobacco industry hound Henry Waxman.

District 30 (62% D - 19% R)		
Becerra (D)*	**35,818**	**(100)**
Parker (R)	**8,947**	**(100)**

Two-termer Xavier Becerra is the leader of the Latino caucus' Washington branch.

District 31 (57% D - 24% R)		
Martinez (D)*	**38,869**	**(100)**
Moreno (R)	**13,404**	**(100)**
Lieberg-Wong (G)	**3,747**	**(100)**
Everling (L)	**1,130**	**(100)**
Hearne (NL)	**766**	**(100)**

Veteran incumbent Matthew Martinez rolls along as his progeny try to carry on the family business. One daughter — Diane — won her primary for state insurance commissioner. Another — Susie — lost badly in an Assembly primary.

District 32 (73% D - 12% R)		
Dixon (D)*	**70,347**	**(100)**
Ardito (R)	**9,424**	**(100)**
Milosevich (L)	**2,273**	**(100)**

Veteran incumbent Julian Dixon is in no danger.

District 33 (67% D - 16% R)		
Roybal-Allard (D)*	**28,269**	**(100)**
Miller (R)	**4,587**	**(100)**

Not the greatest voter participation in this urban district, but Lucille Roybal-Allard usually has all the votes she needs.

District 34 (61% D - 25% R)		
Casso (D)	27,444	(49)
Napolitano (D)	**28,001**	**(51)**
Perez (R)	**16,747**	**(100)**
Scott (AI)	**1,396**	**(100)**
Heath (L)	**1,399**	**(100)**

When longtime incumbent Esteban Torres announced his retirement from Congress three days before the close of campaign filing, most thought his timing was aimed at clearing the field for his son-in-law, Jamie Casso. But if Torres

Casso

Napolitano

was trying to be tricky on Casso's behalf, he wasn't tricky enough. The timing left just enough space for termed-out Assemblywoman Grace Napolitano to switch gears from an expected state Senate run and announce for the seat as well. Napolitano has a history of contributing to her own campaigns, and the run for Congress was no exception; she wound up loaning her campaign more than $200,000. Napolitano used the money to enhance an already established name identification and to attack Casso as a carpetbagging crown prince who hasn't earned the seat. Casso's main advantage was Torres, who helped him build an impressive list of endorsers, including nearly all of the municipal officials from Napolitano's home base of Norwalk. Casso also ultimately won the backing of Napolitano's Sacramento leader, Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Casso's campaign emphasized his endorsement list and hit Napolitano for being ineffective. It also raised questions about the source of her loans. In the end, though, Napolitano's name recognition and her status as the only woman in the field helped push her over the edge, though it was hardly a landslide. Things should go much easier for her this fall, in a district that is heavily Democratic.

District 35 (75% D - 10% R)		
Waters (D)*	**45,752**	**(100)**
Mego (AI)	**7,128**	**(100)**

Though she draws no GOP opponent, Maxine Waters won't be satisfied until there are no Republicans in her district, period.

District 36 (42% D - 41% R)		
Hahn (D)	**32,864**	**(89)**
Michelin (D)	4,294	(11)
Brooks (R)	18,908	(29)
Klein (R)	2,321	(3)
Kuykendall (R)	**24,490**	**(37)**
Pegram (R)	3,208	(5)
Svorinich (R)	17,571	(26)
Barrett (G)	**2,690**	**(100)**
Welsh (L)	**2,060**	**(100)**
Konopka (RF)	**707**	**(100)**

Hahn

Kuykendall

The Republican contest in this swing district encompassing most of L.A.'s beach cities wasn't shaping up as much of a contest until February. That's when three-term incumbent Jane Harman, who had fended off several challenges, decided to run for governor. Suddenly, they were coming out of the woodwork — three different contenders with meaningful bases of support. Democrats' secret prayer was that the winner would be Susan Brooks, the former Rancho Palos Verdes councilwoman who has single-handedly turned a sizeable chunk of the Palos Verdes peninsula against her. Brooks has twice won the GOP primary only to lose to Harman — once by an eyelash, once convincingly. Facing Brooks were two more established pols, Assemblyman Steve Kuykendall and L.A. councilman Rudy Svorinich. All three had polls at various times showing them ahead. Svorinich and Kuykendall — both supporters of abortion rights — challenged each other for the middle ground, with Kuykendall touting his anti-crime credentials and Svorinich emphasizing his involvement with local projects, such as saving the Los Angeles Air Force Base. Both agreed that Brooks was the conservative in the race, a label she did not dispute. An inveterate name-dropper whose strongest supporters were conservative members of Congress, Brooks was extremely fuzzy on the abortion issue. Though she claimed to support abortion rights, she campaigned vigorously against late-term abortions and Svorinich forces pointed to a questionnaire circulated by an anti-abortion group in which she claimed opposition to choice. But the questionnaire which threatened to tip the race Brooks' way was the one circulated by U.S. Term Limits. Brooks committed to a self-imposed limitation of her terms, while the other two didn't. The result was a $190,000 independent expenditure on Brooks' behalf, praising her and attacking the

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other two. Brooks' own attacks were even tougher, as she sought to solidify conservatives against the two moderate male candidates. She finished on an almost comical note with a cable television ad showing her surrounded by school children who called her "Our Mrs. Brooks." As they did in many of her other campaigns, Brooks' attacks backfired and Kuykendall, whose legislative district substantially overlapped the southern portion of the 36th, wound up being the beneficiary. Most Republicans feel they dodged a bullet in the primary, and they now have their sights set on winning back what they consider a "borrowed" seat. But the path will be far from smooth. The Democratic nominee, Janice Hahn, is the daughter of the late legendary L.A. County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, a family tie which guarantees she will have plenty of names in her fund-raising Rolodex. Moreover, Kuykendall has struggled in past legislative campaigns. He squeezed in on absentees in his first run in 1994 and only won re-election in 1996 by 3,000 votes running against a liberal Democratic nurse who was an open lesbian. Hahn figures to revive Kuykendall's acceptance of a controversial $125,000 eleventh-hour contribution from tobacco giant Phillip Morris, while Kuykendall can be guaranteed to paint Hahn as too liberal for this swing district heavily stocked with decline-to-state voters. Expect the seat to be a battleground in the fall.

District 37 (72% D - 12% R)		
Millender-McDonald (D)*	**30,035**	**(70)**
Rahn (D)	12,678	(30)
Lankster (R)	**6,896**	**(100)**

Despite drawing a primary challenger, there's little to prevent former Assemblywoman Juanita Millender-McDonald from retaining firm control of her southern L.A. county seat.

District 38 (51% D - 33% R)		
Matthews (D)	**29,465**	**(100)**
Horn (R)*	**44,378**	**(86)**
Underhill (R)	7,344	(14)
Bowers (L)	**2,047**	**(100)**

Moderate incumbent Steve Horn is the nearest thing in Congress to a "Blue Dog" Republican. Despite good Democratic registration numbers, Horn seems to get stronger as time goes on. Perennial Democratic challenger Peter Matthews will, as always, have his work cut out for him.

District 39 (38% D - 46% R)		
Ara (D)	13,520	(50)
Groom (D)	**13,685**	**(50)**
Royce (R)*	**63,125**	**(100)**
Dean (L)	**2,547**	**(100)**
Jevning (NL)	**1,238**	**(100)**

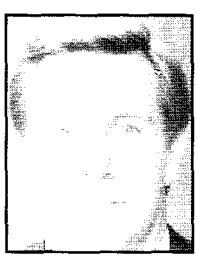
It went right down to the absentees before school board member "Cecy" Groom was able to bask in his primary victory over Democratic opponent Charlie Ara, a former Catholic priest turned social worker. Well, at least Groom gets to savor one victory this year.

District 40 (37% D - 46% R)		
Conway (D)	**23,722**	**(100)**
Craig (R)	10,203	(15)
Lewis (R)*	**57,046**	**(85)**
Mayben (L)	**2,579**	**(100)**

Okay, let's assume that Democrat Robert Conway gets *all* of the votes cast in the primary for incumbent Jerry Lewis' opponent, George Craig. Now, all Conway has to do is find another 23,000 votes somewhere — and he's just about even with Lewis' primary totals.

District 41 (39% D - 45% R)		
Ansari (D)	**21,408**	**(100)**
Healy (R)	1,945	(4)
Kim (R)*	13,060	(26)
Miller (R)	**24,504**	**(48)**
Pierce (R)	11,269	(22)
Allaire (G)	**2,245**	**(100)**
Valentine (L)	**1,286**	**(100)**
Kramer (NL)	**1,116**	**(100)**

Kim


Miller

This race proved, once and for all, that "house arrest" is not good for one's resume heading into an election. But that was the ill fortune that befell three-term incumbent Jay Kim after he was convicted of having accepted and concealed illegal campaign contributions in connection with his first run for the office back in 1992. The long saga of Kim's shady financing had been playing out across the length of his career but, in previous campaigns, had been cast as allegations. The conviction removed any doubt, however. He was sentenced in March to two months of house confinement — in Virginia, making it all but impossible for him to campaign in the district. Not that the venue for his sentence would have mattered. By the end, Kim had become an embarrassment for the GOP. Even his wife, who also was convicted in the same scandal, suggested that Kim not run for re-election. But Kim stubbornly refused to cash in his career, preferring the agony of defeat at the polls. That pain was inflicted on him by Gary Miller, a two-term assemblyman whose own career has been paved with the misfortunes of other politicians. Miller was first elected to the Assembly after another Republican — Paul Horcher — was recalled in the wake of the 1995 speakership wars. A confident Miller had plenty of money for the campaign, which also included Deputy District Attorney Pete Pierce, who billed himself as a Christian conservative. This was, however, the year that experience counted heavily, and Miller had plenty of experience as a legislator and Diamond Bar city councilman. Not that Kim didn't go down swinging — mud. A last-second mailer from his campaign purported to be a laudatory letter of support from Democratic Congressman George Brown of Colton, complete with Brown's signature. Brown, who had endorsed Democrat Eileen Ansari, told the Associated Press that the mailer contained excerpts from a letter of support Brown wrote to a federal judge in connection with Kim's sentencing.

District 42 (51% D - 34% D)		
Brown (D)*	**34,831**	**(100)**
Guzman (R)	11,670	(43)
McClay (R)	3,599	(13)
Pirozzi (R)	**11,942**	**(44)**
McGee (AI)	**1,633**	**(100)**
Hollist (L)	**1,155**	**(100)**

George Brown has served 17 terms in Congress. Not 17 years — 17 terms. Over the past decade, every election has brought stories about his eventual defeat. And every election has seen him eke out a narrow victory over yet another sure-fire Republican hopeful. One of those past GOP opponents, Rob Guzman, made another stab at it this year, but his rematch with Brown snagged on the campaign mounted by Eli Pirozzi, an environmental attorney from Alta Loma. Guzman actively sought crossover votes in the heavily Democratic Latino community by dispatching

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Brown

Pirozzi

a series of Spanish-language mailers into Latino households. Pirozzi, on the other hand, confined his effort exclusively to GOP voters, and his campaign was aided by endorsements from nearly every prominent Republican in San Bernardino and Riverside counties. He also was backed financially by U.S. Term Limits, which pumped $100,000 into his treasury. Pirozzi used term limits as an issue against Guzman, who refused to go on record as supporting the concept. He also hammered home his moderate stance on environmental issues — a key in this Inland Empire district. A tireless campaigner, Pirozzi walked more than 40 precincts in the district. All this helped on the margins in a victory decided by less than 1,000 votes. Pirozzi now becomes the next sure-fire Republican hopeful. Brown remains high on GOP target lists, but his performance in the blanket primary — 54 percent of the overall vote — was strong. Pirozzi plans to hit Brown on the veteran's liberal voting record but stay away from the personal attacks that have helped to scuttle past efforts to unseat the incumbent.

District 43 (39% D - 46% R)		
Rayburn (D)	**20,499**	**(100)**
Barela (R)	5,706	(10)
Calvert (R)*	**31,818**	**(56)**
Khoury (R)	19,765	(35)
Courtney (G)	**2,394**	**(100)**
Wallack (NL)	**1,960**	**(100)**

If the cast of characters in the GOP primary looks familiar, it's because — it is. Joe Khoury is making his third run at incumbent Ken Calvert after having lost to him in 1992 and '94. The latter race was a squeaker, with Calvert surviving by less than 1,000 votes after unsavory stories about his relationship with a prostitute surfaced in local papers. Khoury, who is to the right of Calvert politically, took 1996 off but resumed his duel this year. The result was a 20-point drubbing. Calvert now stands to counter the growing assumption that legislative incumbents who poll less than 50 percent of the overall vote in a blanket primary eventually lose. Calvert managed only 39 percent of the popular vote, but there is virtually no chance that he will drop this election to Democrat Mike Rayburn.

District 44 (42% D - 44% R)		
Nevenich (D)	6,034	(17)
Waite (D)	**29,987**	**(83)**
Bono (R)*	**57,102**	**(90)**
Harney (R)	2,646	(4)
Mathewson (R)	1,671	(3)
Overman (R)	2,201	(3)
Meuer (NL)	**481**	**(100)**

This race was essentially decided in an April special election to replace the late Sonny Bono, who was killed in a winter skiing accident. Mary Bono, widow of Sonny, avoided a runoff by winning a commanding victory in the special. She solidified her hold on the district in the blanket primary where she captured 57 percent of the overall vote. Actor Ralph Waite — "Papa Walton" to TV viewers — finished second to Bono in the special and will finish second to Bono in this November's general election as well.

District 45 (32% D - 51% R)		
Gerber (D)	5,700	(23)
Neal (D)	**18,868**	**(77)**
Bohman (R)	10,251	(15)
Pham (R)	5,473	(8)
Rohrabacher (R)*	51,832	(77)
Hull (L)	**2,293**	**(100)**
Verkamp (NL)	**981**	**(100)**

In recent years, incumbent Dana Rohrabacher has been able to blow off primary elections because of a lack of Republican opposition and instead focus his energies on such things as surfing and being part of Orange County's GOP inner-circle. This time, though, the vocal conservative drew two Republican opponents — former Westminster Councilwoman Charmayne Bohman and nuclear engineer Long Pham. Bohman was the only one who posed any kind of threat. She hired GOP consultant Eileen Padberg, who enjoys taking on moderate Republican candidates in the predominantly conservative county. Still, the challenge didn't amount to much because Bohman had a tough time raising more than $20,000. Bohman's chances were further hamstrung by the presence of two Democrats on the ballot, taking away the possibility of crossover voting in the open primary. On the Democratic side, Realtor Patricia Neal easily overcame retired attorney Lud Gerber for the right to battle Rohrabacher in November.

District 46 (45% D - 38% R)		
Sanchez (D)*	**22,592**	**(100)**
Coronado (R)	899	(3)
Dornan (R)	**13,126**	**(49)**
Gray (R)	5,533	(21)
Hughes (R)	7,279	(27)
Reimer (L)	**722**	**(100)**
Engwall (NL)	**317**	**(100)**

Sanchez

Dornan

Here we go again. Okay, it wasn't supposed to turn out this way. Bob Dornan was supposed to go quietly into the sunset after losing to Democrat Loretta Sanchez two years ago. But Dornan goes quietly nowhere and instead has been waging a two-year crusade over what he contends is the fact that the '96 election was stolen from him by widespread Latino voter fraud. Never mind that a House subcommittee — plus a state and local investigative effort — failed to substantiate Dornan's claims. All that is prelude, of course, for what unfolded in the primary and what promises to unfold in the fall. Dornan ran for his old seat without any support from party officials or many of his former House colleagues. The county's powerful Lincoln Club personally even appealed to him not to run. The fear among some Republicans is that a Dornan nomination means a Sanchez victory in November and even tougher re-election fights for other Republican officeholders in the area. The request only redoubled Dornan's resolve, and he proved in the primary that he still enjoys a strong base of support in the district. He easily outdistanced his strongest challenger, attorney Lisa Hughes, who chairs the State Lottery Commission. She was the beneficiary of Dornan's GOP excommunication by gaining endorsements from the Lincoln Club and Republican legislative leaders. Although she failed to raise as much money as Dornan — who managed to pull in $1.7 million in contributions over the last year from both local and national sources — Hughes was able to tap into her

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personal wealth to blanket the district with mail and cable television ads. But her efforts to portray herself as someone conservative voters could support, while downplaying her support of first-trimester abortions, failed to overcome Dornan's longstanding name recognition. Hughes also had to compete with two other Republicans—Superior Court Judge Jim Gray and former Cypress Councilman Chuck Coronado — for the anti-Dornan vote. Unlike Hughes and Dornan, Gray had little money and was limited mostly to walking neighborhoods and posting signs. It also didn't help that he called for the decriminalization of drugs several years ago as an alternative to resolving the nation's drug problem. And then there was Coronado, whose lack of fund raising forced a grass-roots campaign aimed at wooing Latinos back into the party. Latinos, of course, will be the big factor come fall. Currently, they make up half of the district's population and 25 percent of its registered voters. Sanchez, whose '96 election was bolstered by a sudden increase in Latino voting, will be banking on another surge, especially with Dornan around to galvanize the bad feelings his voter fraud accusations fostered. Dornan also didn't help himself by crashing a private Cinco de Mayo event in May, which angered many local Latino businessmen and community leaders in attendance. Dornan enters the fall campaign with a depleted war chest after having blown most of his money during the primary. That's a problem Sanchez doesn't face. Since she had no primary challenge, Sanchez came out of the June election with over $1 million in the bank and will have no trouble raising more from national Democratic sources, especially with President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore willing to attend fund raisers, as they've done in the past. Some experts are predicting that the total spending for this seat could reach $4 million, which would easily eclipse the $1.5 million spent by Sanchez and Dornan in 1996.

District 47 (29% D - 55% R)		
Avalos (D)	**28,674**	**(100)**
Cox (R)*	**81,119**	**(100)**
Wagner (L)	**2,612**	**(100)**
Fisher (NL)	**1,041**	**(100)**
Mills (RF)	**1,201**	**(100)**

Incumbent Christopher Cox decided to pass on challenging U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer. Life in the House is just too comfy.

District 48 (28% D - 54% R)		
Luke (R)	9,209	(10)
Mayerhofer (R)	5,725	(6)
Packard (R)*	**74,907**	**(83)**
Muhe (L)	**7,071**	**(100)**
Miles (NL)	**8,892**	**(100)**

Businessman Ed Mayerhofer evidently was emboldened by his 1994 primary challenge to incumbent Ron Packard to try again — he got 19 percent that time. This time he got six.

District 49 (40% D - 38% R)		
Kehoe (D)	**43,780**	**(100)**
Bilbray (R)*	**57,091**	**(100)**
Lippe (L)	**2,816**	**(100)**
Simon (NL)	**1,840**	**(100)**
Jordan (PF)	**2,125**	**(100)**

One effect of a blanket primary is to test the relative strength and weakness of incumbents. Those who gain more than 50 percent of the total popular vote are thought to be relatively safe come November. So the results of this primary must have been disheartening for Democrats, who planned that San Diego City Councilwoman Christine Kehoe, who is openly gay, would make a strong, well-funded run at two-term incumbent Brian Bilbray. But the dry run showed, if anything, that Bilbray will be a tougher-than-anticipated nut to crack. In an election where Democratic turnout outstripped that of Republicans, Bilbray bested Kehoe by more than 13,000 votes.

District 50 (50% D - 28% R)		
Filner (D)*	**42,494**	**(100)**

Filner survived the primary and now must look forward to a brusing, bare-knuckles brawl in November.

District 51 (30% D - 50% R)		
Kripke (D)	**32,912**	**(100)**
Cunningham (R)*	**79,369**	**(100)**
Anderson (L)	**4,225**	**(100)**
Bourdette (NL)	**2,525**	**(100)**

Democrat Dan Kripke has four months to make up a 47,000-vote deficit against incumbent Randy Cunningham.

District 52 (38% D - 43% R)		
Hunter (R)*	**76,722**	**(100)**
Badler (L)	**11,920**	**(100)**
Pelton (NL)	**9,390**	**(100)**

Two minor-party candidates held nine-term incumbent Duncan Hunter to less than 80 percent of the popular vote. And they say elections in this part of Southern California are boring.

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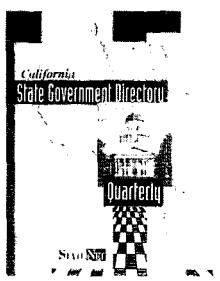

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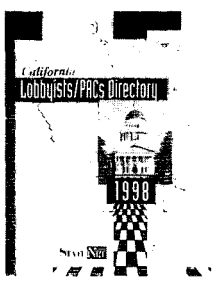

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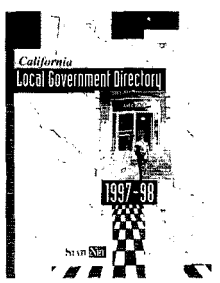

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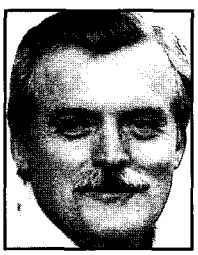
Senate

District 2 (51% D - 31% R)

Chesbro (D)	**61,393**	**(66)**
Stoen (D)	27,048	(34)
Jordan (R)	**46,289**	**(57)**
Pinches (R)	34,883	(43)
Garay (PF)	**5,794**	**(100)**

Jordan


Chesbro

This Wine Country district figures to be one of the partisan battlegrounds in the fall campaign. The reason: John Jordan. The Republican coffee shop owner is heir to one of the region's best known wineries, and he made it clear going in he was prepared to spend a bundle of his own money to win the seat being vacated by outgoing Senator Mike Thompson. In the primary alone, Jordan's personal spending exceeded a quarter million dollars, helping him to build a formidable campaign operation for the fall. But Jordan didn't exactly light the world on fire, winning only 57 percent against Mendocino Supervisor John Pinches. Pinches, who supports the legalization of marijuana, barely had two nickels to rub together, refusing to accept contributions above $49. Meanwhile, Democrat Wes Chesbro, a former Humboldt supervisor who serves on the Integrated Waste Management Commission, was easily winning his primary against Timothy Stoen, the one-time attorney for cult mass murderer Jim Jones. Chesbro was not his party's first choice — they no doubt would rather have seen termed out Assemblywoman Valerie Brown make the run. But some are buoyed by his vote total, and the trend toward supporting insiders versus outsiders. Republicans smell blood, though, and if nothing else, Jordan's wealth will force the Democrats to spend heavily here, while freeing up GOP resources for contests in other parts of the state.

District 4 (44% D - 39% R)

De Bellis (D)	28,520	(42)
DeSio (D)	**39,077**	**(58)**
Johannessen (R)*	**103,103**	**(100)**

Republican incumbent Maurice Johannessen won't sweat the fall. He took 60 percent of the overall primary vote, which puts him in a good position to swamp Democratic primary winner Mark DeSio of Davis, a public affairs specialist at CalPERS with some political experience as a legislative field rep and campaign staffer.

District 6 (46% D – 41% R)

Barry (D)	13,928	(17)
Ortiz (D)	**65,996**	**(83)**
Davis (R)	11,983	(17)
McCollum (R)	27,146	(38)
Quackenbush (R)	**31,779**	**(45)**
Klaas (L)	**4,227**	**(100)**

Ortiz

Quackenbush

In what shapes up as one of the key legislative contests of the year, Democratic Assemblywoman Deborah Ortiz and Republican businesswoman Chris Quackenbush each brushed aside primary opponents in their efforts to succeed termed-out Democrat Leroy Greene. In the primary, the big spender was Quackenbush, a political newcomer who just happens to be married to Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush. She loaned herself $200,000 in the final weeks of the campaign to augment a treasury already swollen with contributions from the very insurance industry regulated by her husband. Her major primary opponent — former state Resources Agency official Mike McCollum, an environmental consultant — claimed that the insurance money was tainted, but Quackenbush countered that she was simply accepting help from businesses whose political agenda dovetails with her own on issues such as tort reform, tax policy and the regulatory environment. While Quackenbush and McCollum were dusting up on the GOP side, Ortiz easily dispatched Joan Barry, executive director of Serve Our Seniors and an unsuccessful candidate for the Assembly in 1992 and 1994. It is likely to be an expensive contest. District 6 has turned increasingly conservative in recent years, although current registration indicates that Democratic registration has increased from 46 percent in early 1998 to 49 percent in May — though still short of the 51 percent Democratic registration in 1996 — while GOP registration dropped from 41 to 35 percent, roughly the same percentage as 1996.

District 8 (56% D - 22% R)

Riordan (D)	21,771	(20)
Speier (D)	**89,835**	**(80)**
Tomlin (R)	**24,747**	**(100)**

With independent Quentin Kopp already casting his eye back toward San Francisco local politics, the way is cleared for the Sacramento return of former Assemblywoman Jackie Speier, who easily outpolled attorney John Riordan.

District 10 (53% D - 28% R)

Batara (D)	7,526	(8)
Figueroa (D)	**49,831**	**(52)**
Sweeney (D)	38,048	(40)
Gough (R)	**27,828**	**(100)**

Figueroa

Sweeney

The advent of term limits had many predicting a steady stream of Senate contests pitting nested Assembly members against each other. But the only one that emerged in this primary was the fight over former President Pro Tem Bill Lockyer's Contra Costa County seat.

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Democrats Mike Sweeney and Liz Figueroa both left relatively safe Assembly seats to make their Senate bids, and the stylistic contrasts between the two were striking. Sweeney, a local government wonk, is decidedly low-key, while Figueroa, who worked on HMO legislation, is as gregarious as a puppy. Sweeney's advocacy of a return of property tax money to local governments earned him most of the local endorsements, including that of the mayor of Figueroa's home city of Fremont. Sweeney was also sharp enough to secure the services of Figueroa's former political consultant, Richie Ross. But the steal turned out to be a two-edged sword for Sweeney. The campaign hit Figueroa hard over a huge federal tax debt, at one point printing a 10-page mailer with copies of the tax lien against Figueroa. But the mailer also included Figueroa's home address and social security number, and Figueroa, aided by Democratic consultant Gale Kaufman, accused Sweeney's camp of threatening her personal privacy. Sweeney defended the mailer, insisting the information was a matter of public record, and claiming the backlash was overblown. The explanation he gave for his eventual defeat was Figueroa's huge fund-raising edge, an advantage which was built with the help of late transfers from the Legislature's Latino caucus. Figueroa also received back-channel help from Lockyer and Board of Equalization member Johan Klehs, who once represented the area in the Assembly. Given the sizeable Democratic advantage and the heavyweight Democrats who are lining up behind her, Figueroa should have a relatively easy time holding onto the seat in the fall campaign.

District 12 (47% D – 39% R)		
Cannella (D)	**54,147**	**(100)**
Monteith (R)*	**74,269**	**(100)**
Gowland (L)	**5,342**	**(100)**

Democrats thought they might make a run at one-term incumbent Dick Monteith, who wrested this district from Democrat Dan McCorquodale back in 1994. But former Democratic Assemblyman Sal Cannella flubbed the dress rehearsal as Monteith captured 56 percent of the overall vote and likely removed himself from harm's way come the fall campaign.

District 14 (39% D – 48% R)		
Poochigian (R)	**119,521**	**(100)**

Longtime incumbent Republican Ken Maddy is termed out. He leaves as one of the most respected members of the Legislature. His successor, Assemblyman Charles Poochigian, is well-suited to assume Maddy's mantle.

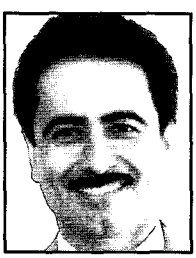
District 16 (54% D - 33% R)		
Costa (D)*	**54,776**	**(100)**
Palmer (R)	**26,257**	**(100)**

An impressive primary victory took another potential target off the fall hit list. Democrat Jim Costa received two out of every three votes cast in this primary and can rest easy.

District 18 (42% D – 40% R)		
O'Connell (D)*	**106,485**	**(100)**
Klemm (R)	**51,849**	**(100)**
Ray (L)	**3,779**	**(100)**

Let's see. Only 42 percent of district voters register Democratic. Incumbent Jack O'Connell got 66 percent of the popular vote in the primary. Portrait of a cakewalk creating itself.

District 20 (58% D - 25% R)		
Alarcon (D)	**38,577**	**(50)**
Katz (D)	38,546	(50)
McCaulley (R)	**13,842**	**(100)**
Starr (L)	**3,340**	**(100)**


Alarcon

Katz

Without question, the most talked-about legislative race of the year so far, this blistering primary contest to replace termed-out Senator Herschel Rosenthal pitted two political pros with remarkably similar ideologies. But the battle between L.A. Councilman Richard Alarcon and former Assemblyman Richard Katz wasn't about ideology. It was about power. Katz, the former minority leader who helped win back the Assembly for Democrats in his term-limit year, entered the race the prohibitive favorite. He'd transferred $130,000 from his Assembly coffers as seed money, and his long legislative resume seemed to fit a year where experience rocked. But the eastern San Fernando Valley region had changed since Katz had represented it in the Assembly, electing not only Alarcon as councilman but Tony Cardenas as Katz' Assembly replacement. When the Senate contest took shape, the race took on the trappings of a turf war with ethnic overtones, as powerful L.A. Senator Richard Polanco led virtually every Latino political leader to line up behind Alarcon. Along with the solid Latino support, Alarcon secured the backing of Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, who sponsored two fund raisers for the councilman, which netted well over $200,000. Riordan's help jump-started Alarcon's fund raising. Though he continued to raise money, Katz found some of his traditional supporters — notably in organized labor — moving toward the sidelines. Once the campaign mail finally started flowing, it was relentless, and much of it was sharply negative. Katz and his consultant, Harvey Englander, zeroed in on an alleged "sweetheart" deal involving construction of a swimming pool at Alarcon's home shortly after his election to the council. One mailer led with the title "Dirty Hands." But for sheer volume, the edge in attack mail went to Alarcon and consultant Richie Ross, who at one point hit Katz for 10 days straight. Two mailers stood out as especially controversial. One full-color brochure prominently featured a photo of Alarcon taking communion from Los Angeles' Catholic Cardinal Roger Mahony. The Cardinal was exercised enough to issue a sharp press release rebuking the mailer, but unfortunately for Katz, the rebuke came on the afternoon of Election Day — too late to have an impact. The other was a letter from Polanco which included a tear-off "Voting Rights Identification Card." In the letter, Polanco linked Katz with Governor Pete Wilson and, by inference, with a 1988 Orange County incident in which poll guards were hired to intimidate Latino voters. Neither Katz nor Wilson had anything to do with the poll guard incident, and Katz accused Alarcon's camp of "race baiting." But attack mail or no attack mail, Alarcon still figured to have an uphill fight unless he mobilized his support in the heavily Latino half of the district to outweigh Katz' edge in the vote-rich end, which is more proportionately Anglo. He had to win it on the ground and he did, marshaling a massive get-out-the-vote campaign which included an estimated 300 volunteers. By the time Election Day votes were counted, Alarcon stood 800 votes ahead. But it wasn't over yet, as about

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6,500 absentee ballots came in heavily favoring Katz, who'd put together an extensive absentee campaign. As of this deadline, Alarcon's margin had shrunk to 31 votes, and Katz was considering asking for a recount. But win or lose, Alarcon's showing is viewed by many as a watershed for Latino political leaders — a demonstration of clout that many will remember when term limits end Riordan's tenure as mayor in 2001.

District 22 (64% D - 17% R)

Polanco (D)*	**40,004**	**(100)**
Suede (PF)	**4,943**	**(100)**

Senate Majority Leader Richard Polanco did his own thing in the primary, funneling hundreds of thousands of dollars to Latino candidates Richard Alarcon and Liz Figueroa in their respective primaries. Most of that money came from the Latino Friends PAC, but that PAC was bankrolled, in large measure, by transfers from Polanco's own hefty account. While Alarcon and Figueroa both won, Polanco may face grumbling from his caucus if they believe he spent dollars that should have gone to the fall campaign. One thing's certain: He won't have to spend a dime on himself.

District 24 (58% D - 24% R)

Solis (D)*	**56,310**	**(100)**
Taylor (R)	**18,119**	**(100)**
Goldsworthy (L)	**2,539**	**(100)**

Incumbent Hilda Solis is considered a rival of Polanco's among Sacramento Latinos and will be back in his face after the November elections.

District 26 (76% D - 10% R)

Archie-Hudson (D)	34,308	(42)
Miller (D)	4,002	(5)
Murray (D)	**43,485**	**(53)**
Key (R)	**6,126**	**(100)**
Weber (L)	**1,761**	**(100)**

Archie-Hudson

Murray

The term-limit-imposed departure of veteran Senator Diane Watson opened the way for yet another changing of the guard in the political leadership of L.A.'s urban core. The seat, which ranges in socioeconomic status from upper-middle-class Baldwin Hills to impoverished South Central, drew two candidates with legislative experience: Assemblyman Kevin Murray, who represents the half with Baldwin Hills; and former Assemblywoman Marguerite Archie-Hudson, who represented the half with South Central. Archie-Hudson's primary benefactor in the contest was L.A. County Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, and her campaign dovetailed with that of Burke's chief of staff, Herb Wesson, who was running for Murray's Assembly seat. With the help of Burke and outgoing incumbent Diane Watson, Archie-Hudson raised enough money to pump a steady stream of mail into the district, much of it attacking Murray's voting record. Murray also raised a sizeable amount of cash, more than he'd ever put together for a legislative race. But Murray also had the backing of the area's congressional queen bee, Representative Maxine Waters. In fact, Waters herself became an issue in the race when Archie-Hudson sent out mail implying she had Waters' endorsement. Murray's response mailer featured a letter written by Waters herself bluntly denouncing the tactic. With both Wesson and Archie-Hudson having employed consultant Richie Ross, the two campaigns merged at several points, with Wesson's "sidekicks" mailings against rival Joey Hill also taking aim at Murray. But Waters' support, as well as Murray's own highly-regarded slate mailer, helped push Murray over the top. The heavy Democratic registration makes the fall campaign little more than a coronation for Murray.

District 28 (51% D - 31% R)

Bowen (D)	**61,041**	**(87)**
Isaac (D)	9,087	(13)
Knott (R)	**32,940**	**(100)**
Donner (L)	**4,383**	**(100)**

Maverick Assemblywoman Debra Bowen nearly doubled up on her GOP rival's vote total in the open primary, and that was with a modest primary challenge. All signs point to a November race much easier than the contested Assembly contests she's had to survive since 1992.

District 30 (65% D - 21% R)

Escutia (D)	**52,440**	**(100)**
Robertson (R)	**16,117**	**(100)**
McCready (L)	**3,460**	**(100)**

Term limits forced Martha Escutia out of her safe Assembly seat, but fortunately for her, they also pushed out veteran Senator Charles Calderon, who went on to run for attorney general. At first, it appeared Escutia would have to battle colleague Grace Napolitano in the primary but Napolitano ran for Congress. Things appear to have worked out well for both.

District 32 (52% D - 33% R)

Avila (D)	11,240	(24)
Baca (D)	**35,562**	**(76)**
Ulloa (R)	**23,912**	**(100)**
Ballard (L)	**3,181**	**(100)**

Baca

Ulloa

Assemblyman Joe Baca easily brushed off a primary challenge and now girds for what could be an expensive fall campaign against Chino Mayor Eunice Ulloa for the right to succeed termed-out Democrat Ruben Ayala. Republicans look at the results of past elections and see victory written in the sands of this San Bernardino County district; even Michael Huffington carried the district in 1994 over Dianne Feinstein. Still, the primary results can't be all that encouraging. Ulloa managed only a third of the overall vote, while Baca came very close to getting 50 percent of it despite having a primary opponent. In addition, a strong Democratic voter-registration drive added 2 points to their figures between February and May, while Republicans dropped 2 points. The Latino factor in this heavily Hispanic district is neutralized by Ulloa, so the election likely will turn on experience, money and hustle. One factor to keep in mind: The district sits in the backyard of GOP Senate Caucus Chairman Jim Brulte, who is ever the mischief-maker when it comes to elections.

District 34 (43% D - 40% R)

Dunn (D)	**34,255**	**(100)**
Hurtt (R)*	**39,394**	**(100)**

For most incumbents in uncontested primaries, a majority polling in an election translates well for the general. In Senator Rob Hurtt's case, however, the polling wasn't as strong as

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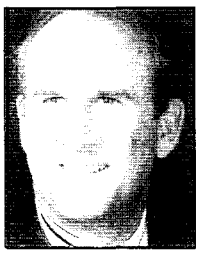
Dunn


Hurtt

expected. With only himself and Democratic attorney Joe Dunn on the ballot, Hurtt received 54 percent of the popular vote — only eight points ahead of an opponent who did almost nothing to make himself known to voters. Compare that to four years ago when Hurtt had no difficulty besting his Democratic rival by 20 points. Add to this the locale of the district — smack dab in the middle of the 46th Congressional, where the Sanchez-Dornan battle will likely galvanize the Latino vote — and the situation becomes a bit precarious for Hurtt, whose district is 44 percent Latino. Hurtt — a millionaire businessman and co-founder of the California Independent Business PAC — won't have a problem spending whatever it takes to win re-election, nor will he lack time to campaign having stepped down as Senate GOP leader. Senate Democrats, meanwhile, have this one on their "watch" list and may funnel some support to Dunn. Nothing would be sweeter, after all, than to knock off the guy whose financial largesse has been a thorn in Democratic campaigns for all of the 1990s.

District 36 (36% D - 48% R)		
Swift (D)	**44,878**	**(100)**
Haynes (R)*	**78,291**	**(100)**

Very friendly territory for incumbent Ray Haynes.

District 38 (30% D - 50% R)		
Arakelian (D)	**39,200**	**(100)**
Morrow (R)	**89,162**	**(100)**
King (L)	**3,944**	**(100)**
Blair (NL)	**4,148**	**(100)**

With incumbent Bill Craven finally moving on because of term limits, Assemblyman Bill Morrow is now set to take over this very Republican seat. Morrow is more conservative and partisan than the moderate Craven, but that plays just fine in this Orange-San Diego county district.

District 40 (47% D - 36% R)		
Peace (D)*	**61,079**	**(100)**
Divine (R)	**29,397**	**(100)**
Graham (L)	**3,694**	**(100)**

The king of "tomato" movies, incumbent Steve Peace, will win his final term in the Senate.

Assembly

District 1 (50% D - 31% R)		
Strom-Martin (D)*	**55,027**	**(100)**
Crump (R)	**33,107**	**(100)**
Elizondo (PF)	**5,929**	**(100)**

As a dress rehearsal for fall, incumbent Virginia Strom-Martin is sitting pretty after taking 59 percent of the popular vote. The GOP likely won't leap to bankroll Sebastopol City Councilman Sam Crump.

District 2 (39% D - 45% R)		
Sullivan (D)	**25,742**	**(100)**
Brandwood (R)	28,424	(44)
Dickerson (R)	**36,170**	**(56)**
Bret (L)	**3,287**	**(100)**

Two veteran lawmen squared off in the GOP primary, seeking to replace incumbent Tom Woods, who decided not to run for a third term. The nod went to the lawman with experience as a Shasta County supervisor — Richard Dickerson, a Riverside police officer who also worked for the state Department of Justice. He defeated Sutter County Sheriff Art Brandwood in this conservative rural district. Dickerson should now have an easy time with Democrat Francie L. Sullivan, chair of the Shasta County Board of Supervisors, who polled fewer votes than the loser in the GOP primary.

District 3 (38% D - 43% R)		
Gruendl (D)	**28,303**	**(100)**
Aanestad (R)	**39,886**	**(56)**
Reade (R)	30,842	(44)

Aanestad

Reade

The nuclear war zone of the north, this open seat vacated by term-limited Republican Bernie Richter was home to one of the more expensive battles — about $500,000 — between two ideologically similar Republicans. Sam Aanestad, an oral surgeon from Grass Valley, racked up lists of endorsements and garnered substantial backing from the California Dental PAC. Richter's chief of staff and son-in-law, David Reade, had his own slew of supporters, along with more than $100,000 in loans from the Richter family. But he also had skeletons, particularly prior DUI convictions he thought he had buried in a *mea culpa* letter to voters. Both candidates pledged in interviews with the Chico *Enterprise-Record* to refrain from negativity, but the "no first use" pledge lasted only until the final days when Aannestad included in a mailer a scathing letter from GOP Assemblyman Larry Bowler, accusing Reade of leaving out key facts about the incidents. A former Sacramento County jailer, Bowler claimed that Reade's confession left out some details — namely, that Reade was found possessing marijuana at one arrest and that he got 120 days in jail. Bowler also tied Reade to "ultra-liberal" trial lawyers because Reade received contributions from a group of Republican trial lawyers. The letter, some other last-minute hits, and, according to party officials, some apparent crossover voting in Reade's home county of Butte from Democrats who disliked Richter, turned what was expected to be a close race into a solid defeat. Democrat Scott Gruendl, a manager for Glenn County's welfare reform program and former Chico planning commissioner, has little chance to capture this solid Republican district.

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District 4 (36% D - 47% R)		
Norberg (D)	**25,141**	**(100)**
Nutting (R)	33,179	(41)
Oller (R)*	**47,179**	**(59)**
Mulvany (L)	**3,728**	**(100)**

The race contained theatrics and at least some concern on incumbent Rico Oller's part, since he received over $30,000 in last-minute contributions and loans from fellow GOP Assembly members — a precaution in the new blanket primary environment, campaign backers said. El Dorado County Supervisor and rancher Ray Nutting did well against a sitting incumbent, but the contest was not without its low humor. Nutting campaign advisor Erike Young (Oller's Democratic opponent in '96) was caught calling in to a radio talk-show pretending to be Nutting. Nutting then aimed for a district nerve — the hunter's code of honor — by dredging up a November bear-hunting incident involving Oller and a companion who said they were forced by bad weather to leave part of a carcass in the woods. Throughout these and other campaign antics, Oller was aggressively present in the media but absent in person, spending much of the time recuperating from heart bypass surgery.

District 5 (40% D - 44% R)		
Davis (D)	**15,944**	**(54)**
Molina (D)	13,428	(46)
Cox (R)	**31,225**	**(56)**
Felley (R)	4,666	(8)
Paredes (R)	17,073	(30)
Pickett (R)	3,169	(6)
Frazier (L)	**1,797**	**(100)**

Sacramento County Supervisor Dave Cox, the frontrunner for this seat vacated by termed-out Republican Barbara Alby, far outdistanced his closest Republican rival — Folsom businessman Sam Paredes, a former Deukmejian and Wilson administration official whose father-in-law is former state Senator H.L. Richardson. Paredes' honorary campaign chairman was Alby's husband, Dennis. None of that mattered as voters opted for the more moderate Cox, who was able to wag his experience as an elected supervisor at a time when that kind of experience resonated with voters. Cox also was boosted by the fact that he had run against incumbent Senator Leroy Greene two years ago, actually outpolling Greene in the District 5 portion of the Senate district. Cox raised more than enough to offset Paredes' ample contributions from conservative interests such as the National Rifle Association and the Gun Owners of California, which he once served as executive director. Cox now has the upper hand against Democrat Linda Davis, a director of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District.

District 6 (52% D - 29% R)		
Mazzoni (D)*	**64,593**	**(100)**
Romanowsky (R)	4,653	(15)
Sullivan (R)	12,853	(42)
Weiner (R)	**12,931**	**(43)**
Persily (PF)	**2,247**	**(100)**

Despite a radio talk-show host for a father and more money than either of his two rivals, Russ Weiner only managed to squeak through the primary. He'll have to do a whole lot better to overcome well-heeled two-term incumbent Kerry Mazzoni, who finished 14 points ahead of Democratic registration in the primary.

District 7 (53% D - 31% R)		
Demuth (D)	5,803	(10)
Latimer (D)	20,760	(35)
Russell (D)	10,838	(18)
Wiggins (D)	**21,403**	**(36)**
Sanchez (R)	**23,138**	**(100)**
Rodrigues (L)	**2,320**	**(100)**
Sutley (PF)	**1,073**	**(100)**

Latimer

Wiggins

In winning what will likely be a relatively clear shot at replacing term-limited incumbent Valerie Brown, Santa Rosa Councilwoman Pat Wiggins proved that slow and steady wins the race. Having begun her quest for the job nearly a year before the election, Wiggins was frozen in her fund raising by the off-year restrictions of Proposition 208. When the measure was overturned by the courts, Wiggins found that Brown had given her blessing to her Sacramento chief of staff, John Latimer. Latimer quickly tapped into Brown's fund-raising Rolodex, raising more than $200,000 which included sizeable transfers from his benefactor's legislative allies. As if that weren't enough, Napa County realtor Deborah Russell also entered the race, bringing with her sizeable financial support from the development and realtor communities. The contest itself was relatively quiet as far as mail was concerned. Latimer hit Russell on her real estate ties, while Russell's forces dinged Latimer for being something of a carpetbagger, since he'd spent most of his career in Sacramento. All the while, Wiggins continued to plod along, building endorsements and raising what she could. Outside of a $30,000 personal loan, Wiggins got nothing larger than $2,500. But she did have what Democrats in particular seemed to want this year: experience and a resume in public service. She also had forged links with organized labor forces mobilizing to fight Proposition 226, and a clever anti-226 radio spot, which included her voice, helped get her noticed. The final victory wasn't pretty, but it should give her a leg up against Sanchez, who despite being an official with the state Republican Party, managed only 27 percent of the vote in the blanket primary.

District 8 (50% D - 33% R)		
Hayes (D)	6,969	(14)
Thomson (D)*	**43,940**	**(86)**
Myhre (R)	13,074	(47)
Thompson (R)	**14,948**	**(53)**

Incumbent Helen Thomson, whose long history of electoral success predates her Assembly tenure, polled more than 55 percent of the overall primary vote, putting her in a strong position come November. It is unlikely that Yolo County voters will now confuse her with her GOP opponent — Woodland Planning Commissioner Toni Thompson.

District 9 (60% D - 23% R)		
Cochren (D)	4,350	(8)
Gracechild (D)	6,699	(13)
Huffman (D)	6,889	(13)
Pernell (D)	10,754	(21)
Steinberg (D)	**23,316**	**(45)**
Belmontes-Boreman (R)	4,315	(32)
Dismukes (R)	**9,158**	**(68)**

The race to succeed Democrat Deborah Ortiz brought out four viable Democratic candidates. Darrell Steinberg, a Sacramento councilman, locked up most of the big party endorsements early, including that of Ortiz and Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, and held a substantial fund-raising advantage. But his impressive margin of victory came as something of a surprise to many insiders, given that at least two of his opponents had sub-

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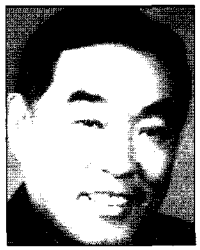
stantial constituencies. Runner-up Robert Pernell, a Sacramento Municipal Utility District board member, enjoyed financial support from many labor groups, as well as the conservative JOBS PAC. The unlikely paring was allegedly part of a deal cut between Pernell and his former SMUD board colleague Anthony Pescetti, who ran successfully in the neighboring 10th District. Pescetti, a Republican, directed JOBS PAC money to Pernell, while Pernell in turn, pointed some labor unions in Pescetti's direction. Former California Teachers Association lobbyist and Willie Brown protégé Alice Huffman lagged in third place, while political novice Frances Gracechild was hurt late by her "A" rating from Gun Owners of California — not a resume-builder in a Democratic primary. In an attempt to woo crossover Republicans, Gracechild also bought her way onto a GOP slate mailer and earned an endorsement letter from Ted Costa, head of the Paul Gann organization. Despite an endorsement from *The Sacramento Bee*, Gracechild, who is wheelchair-bound and director of Resources for Independent Living, was hurt by a decision to take more than $7,000 from the gun lobby. Steinberg, who launched a voluminous mail campaign, made sure voters knew about Gracechild's financial backers. On the Republican side, John Dismukes won, but it is Steinberg who is casing out office space in the Capitol.

District 10 (43% D - 43% R)		
Gravert (D)	**23,290**	**(72)**
Price (D)	9,179	(28)
Appel (R)	2,136	(4)
Gillis (R)	4,307	(7)
Nakanishi (R)	13,708	(23)
Neilson (R)	1,546	(3)
Nelson (R)	1,727	(3)
Pennino (R)	10,792	(18)
Pescetti (R)	**18,240**	**(30)**
Piazza (R)	6,126	(10)
Saraydarian (R)	2,051	(3)
Kohlhepp (L)	**1,706**	**(100)**

Democrats are pointing to this race as proof that the car tax issue does not resonate with voters. Alan Nakanishi made the repeal of the vehicle license fee the focal point of his campaign to succeed termed-out Larry Bowler but finished close to 5,000 votes behind the eventual winner, former Sacramento Municipal Utility Board member Anthony Pescetti. Pescetti, whose SMUD board district overlaps with much of the



Nakanishi

Pescetti

Assembly district, has high name recognition in the area and is an early favorite to beat Democrat Debra Gravert in the fall. Gravert, who runs Democrat Dick Floyd's Capitol office, was the top overall vote-getter, largely because there were nine Republican candidates dividing the GOP vote. Pescetti prevailed despite his controversial stand against the GOP-backed Proposition 226. Pescetti was rewarded in kind with contributions from labor groups, but it will be interesting to see if the labor money keeps flowing as Pescetti faces off against Gravert, whose boss heads the Assembly Labor Committee.

District 11 (53% D - 30% R)		
Torlakson (D)*	**58,694**	**(100)**

Republicans couldn't even get someone to bother taking on first-term incumbent Tom Torlakson.

District 12 (58% D - 17% R)		
Shelley (D)*	**50,852**	**(100)**
Fitzgerald (R)	**14,008**	**(100)**

As a member of the leadership, incumbent Kevin Shelley will be spending most of his time this fall helping get other Democrats elected.

District 13 (61% D - 13% R)		
Migden (D)*	**57,052**	**(100)**
Bernard (R)	**11,799**	**(100)**

Between her 1996 fund raising and her role as chair of the Assembly Appropriations Committee, Carole Migden already has plenty of chits, and will likely earn more before the year is out.

District 14 (68% D - 13% R)		
Aroner (D)*	**63,667**	**(100)**
Udinsky (R)	**11,380**	**(100)**

Freshman Democrat Dion Aroner is guaranteed to come back to the Legislature next year — she's just not sure in which house she'll serve. When Democratic Senator Barbara Lee was elected to Congress this past spring, Aroner was first in line to announce for Lee's Senate seat, to be decided in a special election. Almost immediately, she crossed swords with Lee, who timed her resignation in an effort to force a quick special election to favor her preferred choice, Alameda County Supervisor Keith Carson. The gambit didn't work, thanks in part to Aroner, and the special will be held in late summer. In the meantime, Aroner's colleague, Assemblyman Don Perata, also entered the race. With all this company, Aroner's path to the Senate is anything but smooth. But even if she loses, she wins, since there is no way she can lose this race.

District 15 (38% D - 46% R)		
Brydon (D)	**22,138**	**(61)**
White (D)	14,353	(39)
Leach (R)*	**57,938**	**(100)**
Wheat (L)	**3,165**	**(100)**

When Dan Lungren is looking for a friendly audience in the Bay Area, this is where he goes. College dean Charles Brydon won a Democratic primary that Leach will render meaningless in the fall.

District 16 (66% D - 14% R)		
Perata (D)*	**51,685**	**(100)**
Marshall (R)	**12,500**	**(100)**

After first showing no apparent interest, Assembly Majority Leader Don Perata surprised many by announcing he would run in the Senate special election for the seat vacated earlier this year by Barbara Lee. Why would a member of leadership divert his attention to a Senate run? Well, his leadership post lacks its customary portfolio, so maybe Perata has wanderlust. Of course, there's always the chance he did it as a favor to Lee, who doesn't want Perata's Assembly colleague Dion Aroner to win the seat. Whatever his real motivation, Perata, like Aroner, has a free ride in the Senate election, since his return to the Assembly is assured.

District 17 (50% D - 38% R)		
Machado (D)*	**37,494**	**(100)**
Smart (R)	**21,550**	**(100)**

Republicans made noise earlier this year about targeting two-term Democrat Mike Machado and taking over this squishy Central Valley district. But the results from June are not encouraging. An uncontested blanket primary is a dry run for November, and even accounting for high Democratic turnout, Machado's performance was impressive. He polled nearly 64 percent of the overall vote against Manteca City Councilman Jay Smart, who likely will drop a slot or two on the GOP's priority list.

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District 18 (57% D - 25% R)		
Corbett (D)	**20,431**	**(41)**
Cotcher (D)	6,225	(13)
Elias (D)	6,991	(14)
Ward (D)	16,119	(32)
Nowicki (R)	**14,583**	**(100)**

Corbett

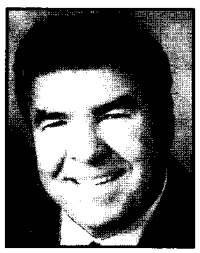
Ward

Judging from their respective positions on the issues, this contest to fill the seat vacated by Senate-seeking incumbent Mike Sweeney should have been a pretty cordial affair. But then, the nastiest fights often erupt when there are few ideological differences. In this case, the battle seemed to be largely geographic, with each of the district's three largest cities boasting a candidate. Union City Councilman Ben Elias managed some financial support, but his base proved too small, and the battle came down to San Leandro Mayor Ellen Corbett and Hayward Councilman Bill Ward. Each boasted business and labor backing, with Ward leaning heavily on the support of developers at odds with Corbett over land-use decisions. Ward also made an issue of Corbett's handling of the renovation of San Leandro City Hall. Corbett responded by hitting Ward on his developer ties. Late in the race, Ward secured the backing of some of Corbett's mayoral predecessors, and also got help from the California Teachers Association. Corbett countered with her local chamber of commerce. While Sweeney stayed out of the race, his Senate opponent, Liz Figueroa, endorsed Corbett. Although Hayward is bigger than San Leandro, in the end, Corbett's gender and her status as a city mayor may have tipped things her way. In a status quo year, a mayor trumps a councilman.

District 19 (54% D - 27% R)		
Papan (D)*	**47,110**	**(100)**
Ferguson (R)	**17,568**	**(100)**
Marsland (L)	**3,616**	**(100)**

The always entertaining Lou Papan spent much of the 1970s and 1980s in the Assembly, and is on track to finish out the 1990s in the same place.

District 20 (48% D - 31% R)		
Bettencourt (D)	6,326	(16)
Dutra (D)	**21,654**	**(65)**
Weed (D)	6,490	(19)
Widmar (R)	9,322	(40)
Zager (R)	**13,686**	**(60)**


Dutra

The relatively weak Democratic registration in this Fremont-Union City-based district makes it inviting enough to attract competitive primaries in both parties. The Democratic contest initially appeared to be the more contentious, with former Fremont Councilman John Dutra squaring off against water board member John Weed. Weed's early campaign reports showed him seeding his campaign with a $56,000 loan, and he was touting himself as more conservative than Dutra, who enjoyed the backing of outgoing incumbent Liz Figueroa. But Weed's campaign stopped, and subsequent fund-raising reports showed him raising exactly zero money for the race. Dutra, meanwhile, gobbled up all the institutional support and raised close to $200,000 — $85,000 of which was a loan to himself. Though underfinanced, community activist Val Bettencourt did actually campaign and came close to beating Weed. But the Republican contest wound up surprisingly spirited, as current Fremont Councilwoman Jonelle Zager knocked off school board trustee Linda Widmar. Widmar ran as a straight-line, anti-tax conservative who vigorously opposed the proposed Pleasanton junk gun ban. Zager, meanwhile, was low-key on the gun proposal and actually opposed Proposition 226, the union check-off initiative. Her victory sets up a fall campaign between two former Fremont Council allies. Dutra is a multi-millionaire who received significant business and labor support and will now be able to count on help from Figueroa, who figures to have an easier time in her fall campaign. Although he goes in with many advantages, a strong effort from Zager could nudge this race into the "interesting" column.

District 21 (48% D - 33% R)		
Lempert (D)*	**53,272**	**(100)**
Atherly (R)	**21,538**	**(100)**
Bryant (NL)	**2,949**	**(100)**

Lempert came in 21 points ahead of Democratic registration in the open primary, 'Nuf said.

District 22 (48% D - 31% R)		
Alquist (D)*	**38,260**	**(100)**
Kawcznski (R)	**20,382**	**(100)**
Rand (L)	**3,051**	**(100)**
Dunstan (NL)	**1,080**	**(100)**

Although Democratic registration looks weak on paper, incumbent Elaine Alquist is a lock to repeat.

District 23 (57% D - 22% R)		
Honda (D)*	**22,514**	**(70)**
Martinez-Roach (D)	9,679	(30)
DuLong (R)	**8,337**	**(100)**

School board trustee Patricia Martinez-Roach got some help from Assembly Latinos two years ago and came in third. This year, incumbent Honda was bargaining with Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa to secure endorsements for Asian candidates. Martinez-Roach was just a memory for leadership, as apparently she was for voters.

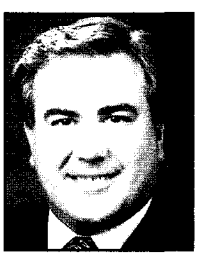
District 24 (42% D - 39% R)		
Stokes (D)	**24,614**	**(100)**
Courtright (R)	9,614	(19)
Cunneen (R)*	**38,059**	**(75)**
Prince (R)	3,310	(6)

After fending off half-hearted Democratic challenges in the past, Silicon Valley incumbent Jim Cunneen will be able to relax this year.

District 25 (43% D - 43% R)		
Firch (D)	**26,056**	**(100)**
House (R)*	**49,960**	**(100)**
Swickel (L)	**1,537**	**(100)**
Surratt (RF)	**1,681**	**(100)**

Ultra-conservative George House, a former CHP officer, fits his district.

District 26 (53% D - 33% R)		
Cardoza (D)*	**32,662**	**(100)**
Hollingsworth (R)	**16,860**	**(100)**
Towe (AI)	**801**	**(100)**
Eaton (L)	**1,299**	**(100)**


Cardoza

Democrat Dennis Cardoza won this seat two years ago by a handful of votes, which put him near the top of the GOP's target list for 1998. But that was before the primary, when Cardoza showed formidable strength by capturing 63 percent of the overall vote. Republican Patty Hollingsworth has connections as

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a former legislative staffer and Deukmejian administration official, but she will be hard pressed to convince Republicans that she can turn the election around come November.

District 27 (49% D - 30% R)		
Keeley (D)*	**46,326**	**(100)**
Carter (R)	13,116	(49)
Chavez (R)	**13,879**	**(52)**
Deardorff (L)	3,771	(100)

The registration numbers look enticing for Republicans, who held this district with now-Senator Bruce McPherson from 1992 to 1996. But the numbers are very deceiving, as incumbent Fred Keeley showed when he took 60 percent of the overall vote in the June primary. A former Santa Cruz County supervisor and longtime legislative staffer, Keeley has moved into a leadership position and can expect to spend most of his energy this election season helping other Democrats.

District 28 (51% D - 33% R)		
Styles (D)	**24,476**	**(100)**
Frusetta (R)*	**34,779**	**(100)**
Woods (L)	**2,741**	**(100)**

Two-term incumbent Peter Frusetta may finally be off the hook. A big-time target for Democrats over the past two elections, Frusetta's strong showing in the blanket primary may cause Democrats to look elsewhere. He polled 56 percent of the total vote against Salinas Mayor Alan Styles, who now must convince voters to throw out a popular incumbent.

District 29 (40% D - 48% R)		
Briggs (R)	**28,125**	**(38)**
Gulke (R)	6,670	(9)
Maze (R)	21,326	(29)
Strom (R)	18,513	(25)

Briggs

Maze

Fresno Councilman and Mayor pro Tem Mike Briggs parlayed support from "three strikes" author Mike Reynolds and big-buck contributions from conservative money lenders such as Senator Rob Hurtt and the California Independent Business PAC into a steamroller win over a field of three other Republican candidates. Briggs was lambasted throughout the campaign's final days by his two main opponents — Tulare County Supervisor Bill Maze and Clovis school board member Naomi Strom — for what they called the influence of "Southern California money." Briggs also received donations from Washington, D.C. anti-abortion activist Gary Bauer. But the biggest bomb to drop late in the campaign was the revelation that Briggs had pleaded "no contest" to misdemeanor charges of having had unlawful sex with a minor in 1986. He was 26 at the time; the girl was 17. Those same revelations had surfaced in his 1994 council race when Briggs at first had denied them. The Briggs campaign fired back, especially at Strom, alleging that she misspent taxpayer money as a member of the school board. As the campaign descended into the slime, the current district incumbent, Republican Chuck Poochigian, lamented what he called "new lows" in advertising. In the end, Briggs' money and his ability to flood the district with mail overcame the shadow of his previous sex scandal.

District 30 (51% D - 35% R)		
Florez (D)	**11,881**	**(63)**
Norris (D)	7,083	(37)
Prenter (R)*	**23,037**	**(100)**

Democrats want this district. They covet this district, once held by a pal of theirs — former GOP Speaker Brian Setencich. But Setencich bungled his re-election in 1996, allowing neophyte politco Robert Prenter to put the district more firmly into the GOP column. For the past two years, Democrats have had Prenter near the tippy top of their target list. He may still be on that list, but his showing in the primary — 55 percent of the overall vote — must give Democrats pause, especially given the strong Democratic turnout statewide. Prenter can expect to be targeted, but he'll have all the resources needed to fend off the attack. And he'll have the confidence of knowing that voters in the district already had the chance to display their preferences — and most of them wanted him to return for a second term. His Democratic opponent, Dean Florenz, parlayed labor endorsements into an impressive primary victory, and he sports an solid resume: former legislative staffer, Harvard-educated investment banker, municipal government consultant. He does not have one item thought to be key in 1998 — experience as an elected official.

District 31 (57% D - 31% R)		
Reyes (D)	**17,768**	**(83)**
Velasco (D)	3,579	(17)
Jackson (R)	**16,565**	**(100)**

Former television reporter Sarah Reyes, now assistant to the chancellor of the State Center Community College District, entered the race as the anointed candidate to replace termed-out Assemblyman Cruz Bustamante. That gave her the oomph to outdistance Rosaline Velasco for the Democratic nomination. She now faces Kingsburg farmer David Jackson, a past president of the Fresno County School Trustee Association and the Kingsburg Joint Union High School District Board of Trustees.

Reyes

District 32 (38% D - 49% R)		
Tucker (D)	**18,382**	**(100)**
Ashburn (R)*	**47,454**	**(100)**

No contest in this heavily Republican district for incumbent Roy Ashburn.

District 33 (40% D - 44% R)		
Sanders (D)	**21,822**	**(100)**
Bravo (R)	23,231	(38)
Buttler (R)	1,577	(3)
MacElvaine (R)	8,957	(15)
Maldonado (R)	**27,231**	**(45)**
Bersohn (L)	**1,346**	**(100)**

Bravo

Maldonado

With Republican incumbent Tom Bordonaro's decision to run for Congress, conservatives came out of the woodwork to fill this seat in a staunchly conservative district. Like Bordonaro, the eventual winner, Santa Maria Mayor Abel Maldonado, is a conservative farmer and effective fund raiser. But unlike Bordo, a then-political neophyte elected in the anti-incumbent swell of 1994, Maldonado focused on his experience as mayor in an election where

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incumbency and experience were viewed as assets. Maldonado's victory all but guarantees that the Assembly Republican Latino Caucus will at least double its current membership of one and could quadruple if results from elsewhere play out as expected. Maldonado's nearest competitor was pediatrician Rick Bravo, chairman of the San Luis Obispo Central Committee who had the early backing of party conservatives. Party insiders say Bravo was overwhelmed by Maldonado's prodigious fund raising and his base as an elected official in the population-heavy southern part of the district. Maldonado faces token opposition from Democrat Betty Sanders in the fall.

District 34 (36% D - 47% R)		
Figueroa (D)	**17,852**	**(100)**
Olberg (R)*	**41,251**	**(100)**
Laing (L)	**2,836**	**(100)**

A November rout in the making for two-term incumbent Keith Olberg, who received two-thirds of the total primary vote.

District 35 (44% D - 36% R)		
Jackson (D)	**26,708**	**(76)**
Pizano (D)	8,676	(24)
Ebenstein (R)	11,472	(29)
Lack (R)	10,056	(25)
Mitchum (R)	**18,522**	**(46)**
Dahl (NL)	**1,057**	**(100)**

Jackson

Mitchum

In this race, there was only one candidate from either party with prior experience in elected office: Santa Barbara School Board member Lenny Ebenstein. And although experience largely translated into victory this year, there is still one major exception to that overly-simplistic formula: star power. Chris Mitchum, son of the late actor Robert Mitchum, repelled challenges from Ebenstein and David Lack, a former congressional aide to Michael Huffington, to earn his party's nomination in what promises to be a dogfight in the fall. Party insiders are thrilled at Mitchum's victory, convinced that he gives the party the best chance to hold on to its tenuous grip on this moderate, coastal district seat being vacated by Republican Brooks Firestone. Mitchum will square off against Democrat Hannah-Beth Jackson, a Santa Barbara attorney and former prosecutor whom Democrats are trying to sell as Jack O'Connell in a skirt. Predictably in this race for the elusive center, each party is painting its candidate as a perfect fit for the district and criticizing the other as being too extreme. Mitchum has evoked the name of another actor-politician who used to reside in the district — President Ronald Reagan, while Jackson touts her prosecutorial experience as evidence she is tough on crime. This seat will be high on the list of seats to defend for Republicans, who cannot afford to lose this one if they hope to gain any ground in the Assembly.

District 36 (35% D - 49% R)		
Calderon (D)	**16,967**	**(100)**
Runner (R)*	**38,554**	**(100)**
Bashem (L)	**2,311**	**(100)**

Runner will walk this fall.

District 37 (40% D - 42% R)		
McGrath (D)	**22,359**	**(100)**
Lane (R)	7,500	(20)
Robings (R)	5,097	(14)
Strickland (R)	**16,972**	**(46)**
Sybert (R)	4,503	(12)
Young (R)	3,165	(8)
Farris (RF)	**1,718**	**(100)**

Strickland

Sybert

For sheer entertainment value, it is tough to top this "Keystone Cop" affair to fill the seat vacated by termed-out incumbent Nao Takasugi. In one corner, Tony Strickland, chief of staff to conservative iconoclast Tom McClintock, who represents the adjacent 38th District. In the other was Rich Sybert, the former Wilson administration official who was a two-time loser in the GOP's never-ending quest to claim the 24th Congressional seat. Sybert already had a reputation as a loose cannon — his previous congressional campaigns had been marked by controversies over bogus endorsements from the likes of Colin Powell. But despite carpetbagging into the district, Sybert brought a solid fund-raising base, the support of Takasugi and former Governor George Deukmejian, and a host of supporters who insisted he'd cleaned up his act. Then Strickland's campaign rolled the videotape — of Sybert personally ripping up Strickland's campaign signs. Sybert at first denied having vandalized the signs, but when confronted with the tape, admitted he'd done it, suggesting that he was responding to similar vandalism by the Strickland camp. No matter. Strickland's campaign managed to get the videotape into newsrooms around the country, including that of CNN. Sybert had become, in the words of one GOP consultant, "the stock footage of campaign vandalism." The incident, coupled with another endorsement mix-up (involving former Vice President Dan Quayle) gave voters more Sybert than they could stomach, and despite out-spending all comers, he finished a dismal fourth. Barring the creation of some sort of federal "candidate protection" program which would allow him to assume a new identity, Sybert's political career would appear to be over.

District 38 (39% D - 42% R)		
McClintock (R)*	**47,353**	**(100)**

With no opposition, anti-tax iconoclast Tom McClintock spent his spring touting his plan to eliminate the "car tax" and helping "McClintock Mach II" — a.k.a. Tony Strickland — get elected next door in the 37th.

District 39 (62% D - 22% R)		
Cardenas (D)*	**31,342**	**(100)**
Naira (L)	**4,211**	**(100)**

Two years ago, freshman Tony Cardenas was on the leading edge of the effort to mobilize the San Fernando Valley's growing Latino population into a voting power. Cardenas' reward was an uncontested race, and he spent his spring helping elect another Latino — L.A. Councilman Richard Alarcon — to the State Senate.

District 40 (54% D - 29% R)		
Hertzberg (D)*	**30,424**	**(100)**
DeLeuw (R)	**7,577**	**(59)**
Hammans (R)	5,332	(41)
Ross (L)	**3,197**	**(100)**

The ebullient Bob Hertzberg is Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa's major domo in the Assembly, thanks in part to a very comfortable district.

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District 41 (49% D - 34% R)		
Kuehl (D)*	**45,529**	**(100)**
Jhin (R)	**25,765**	**(100)**
Honigsfeld (PF)	**3,182**	**(100)**

Nobody's going to touch two-term incumbent Sheila Kuehl, perhaps the Assembly's single-most intelligent member.

District 42 (57% D - 24% R)		
Knox (D)*	**40,074**	**(100)**
Davis (R)	**14,027**	**(100)**
Lawrence (PF)	**3,832**	**(100)**

Incumbent Wally Knox spent like Fort Knox in his inaugural 1994 run. Since then, it's been cruise control.

District 43 (45% D - 37% R)		
Wildman (D)*	**29,239**	**(100)**
Repovich (R)	**16,883**	**(72)**
Wallis (R)	6,628	(28)
White (L)	**1,428**	**(100)**
Buren (RF)	**909**	**(100)**

The matchup most predicted for this fall is set, and one-term incumbent Scott Wildman figures to be a target after a slim victory two years ago. Fifteen-year L.A.P.D. veteran Peter Repovich, who hasn't made it past the primaries in two previous attempts, draws the task of trying to unseat Wildman after GOP efforts to recruit better-known names flopped. Repovich has shown he can raise some money and has personal benefactors who will help with more. But Wildman appears to be sitting a little better than expected, after polling 53 percent of the overall vote in the open primary. Wildman also benefits from demographic changes in the Glendale-centered district which continue to favor he and other Democratic candidates. And then there's his new status as a member of a Democratic caucus fighting to retain its majority. Two years ago, the one-time United Teachers of Los Angeles organizer was just a sacrificial lamb. Now, he's a sitting incumbent in a competitive district. Despite a personality which sometimes grates on his colleagues, Wildman can expect plenty of help from leadership.

District 44 (45% D - 39% R)		
Scott (D)*	**36,486**	**(100)**
LaCorte (R)	**28,089**	**(100)**
Waddell (G)	**1,550**	**(100)**
Saurenman (L)	**1,856**	**(100)**
Corvalan (RF)	**721**	**(100)**

As unspectacular as GOP recruiting efforts were in the 43rd, they were even more half-hearted in the adjacent 44th, which is undergoing similar demographic transitions. Incumbent Democrat Jack Scott, a former Pasadena City College president, is a likeably avuncular presence who, like Scott Wildman next door, managed 53 percent of the primary vote. Pasadena businessman Ken LaCorte is a protégée of Republican ad man Roger Ailes and is something of a conservative gadfly. Given Scott's popularity among his colleagues, he can expect a similarly healthy infusion of help should he need it.

District 45 (63% D - 18% R)		
Villaraigosa (D)*	**24,533**	**(100)**
Hedrick (R)	**5,824**	**(100)**

Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa was unusually active with his endorsements in the primary, in contrast with the studious neutrality of his GOP counterpart, Assembly Minority Leader Bill Leonard. While Villaraigosa won more than he lost, some of the races he chose to enter were surprising and appeared to reflect deals cut on the road to the speakership. Still, the primary is merely prologue. Villaraigosa's leadership muscle will rise or fall on his winning percentage this November. One thing is certain: His own re-election to the Assembly is assured.

District 46 (65% D - 16% R)		
Cedillo (D)*	**13,399**	**(100)**
Kim (R)	**3,109**	**(100)**

Speaker Villaraigosa pulled out all the stops to help his UCLA buddy Gil Cedillo win in last winter's special election to fill the seat vacated by Louis Caldera. That election will likely be Cedillo's toughest until his term limits run out or he decides to try for another office.

District 47 (72% D - 13% R)		
Cohen (D)	8,040	(15)
Hill (D)	20,698	(39)
Wesson (D)	**24,527**	**(46)**
Leonard (R)	**6,399**	**(100)**
Fine (L)	**1,129**	**(100)**

Call it "The Battle of the Second Bananas." Two chiefs of staff — one who works for the sitting Assembly member, the other who works for the district's county supervisor — squared off in a bruising and expensive war of surrogates which, when placed in conjunction with the result in the 26th Senate District contest, wound up a draw. Joey Hill had the backing of his boss, Assemblyman Kevin Murray, who

Hill

Wesson

was looking to move into the Senate seat being vacated by Diane Watson. Hill's campaign mirrored the strategy employed by Murray when he won four years ago, emphasizing Murray's slate mail operation and Hill's ties with the district. But his primary opponent, Herb Wesson, had built his own lengthy list of political friends, through his post as chief of staff to Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke. His most important friend was Burke herself, whose influence helped steer at least $500,000 Wesson's way, $50,000 of it in the last two weeks. The windfall allowed Wesson, and his consultant Richie Ross, to dominate the mail. Several of his pieces attacked both Hill and Murray as "sidekicks," allowing him to take aim at some of Murray's legislative votes. The most controversial Wesson mailer was a letter to voters in which was enclosed a small plastic ruler and a bullet casing (to emphasize the issues of education and crime). The mailer created a stir in part because it hit the same day an Oregon high school student went on a shooting spree. Hill's mail attacked the attacker, and the Hill campaign sought to raise questions about propriety of the fundraising links between Wesson and Burke. Also, despite Murray's ties to powerful Representative Maxine Waters, it was Wesson and not Hill that wound up on Waters' slate card. By some accounts, the wild card in the race was psychologist Marcia Cohen. Though the district's most influential ethnicity is blacks, it also has a chunk of Jewish voters in the Culver City area. Cohen's Jewish surname and her status as the only woman in a field of men appears to have drawn a sizeable number of votes her way, though she was virtually invisible in the campaign. Given the support Hill's boss has enjoyed in that end of the district, it's possible the Cohen vote may have tipped the race Wesson's way. Wesson's primary victory assures he'll get his ticket punched to Sacramento.

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District 48 (82% D - 5% R)

Wright (D)*	**27,970**	**(100)**
Woods (R)	**2,137**	**(100)**

The good news for Republican Ernest Woods is that he finished two points ahead of Republican registration in the blanket primary. The bad news is that Wright finished 11 points ahead of Democratic registration.

District 49 (59% D - 23% R)

Bruesch (D)	1,492	(4)
Chu (D)	12,703	(30)
Martinez-Baker (D)	2,318	(6)
Messina (D)	8,010	(22)
Romero (D)	**16,340**	**(39)**
Imperial (R)	**4,485**	**(100)**
Brown (L)	**435**	**(100)**

Chu

Romero

If there is one district where the concentration of Asian voters is great enough to sway a legislative election, it is this one, which starts in East Los Angeles and extends through the western San Gabriel Valley. Because of these demographics, all eyes were focused on Monterey Park councilwoman Judy Chu, a prodigious fund raiser who'd spent more than $200,000 in an unsuccessful 1994 primary challenge to incumbent Diane Martinez. With the termed-out Martinez running for insurance commissioner, Chu's time appeared to have arrived, and Assemblyman Mike Honda — the Assembly's only Asian Democrat — strenuously lobbied Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa to back her candidacy. But Villaraigosa was also feeling heat from Latino allies who didn't want to lose a seat that had been held by a Latina for six years. So Villaraigosa and much of the rest of the Legislature's Latino caucus threw in with psychologist Gloria Romero, bringing along with them Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan. Romero, who had just won a seat on one of two Los Angeles charter revision commissions, raised around $200,000, less than Chu but more than enough to be competitive, and worked her base of Latino support in East L.A. Romero's campaign was also linked to the effort to organize labor opposition to Proposition 226. Romero's effort all but shut out the other high-profile Latina in the race, Susie Martinez-Baker, Diane's sister. While Romero was working Latinos, Chu was working the Asian community, paying special attention to Republican and independent voters who, unlike in 1994, would be able to cross over and vote for her. Alhambra mayor Barbara Messina loaned herself more than $100,000 and made a cross-ethnic pitch to voters based on her opposition to abortion rights. Messina wound up with about a fifth of the vote, proving more decisive to the final outcome than the under-funded Martinez-Baker. In the end, it appears Romero's organizational strength carried the day, and come November she'll finish the job against token opposition.

District 50 (68% D - 15% R)

de Guzman (D)	8,243	(35)
Firebaugh (D)	**9,092**	**(39)**
Hernandez (D)	6,028	(26)
Miller (R)	**3,043**	**(100)**

As a young Latino lawyer who once worked for Senator Richard Polanco, Marco Firebaugh's path to winning the seat of termed-out incumbent Martha Escutia seemed to be relatively smooth. Firebaugh had all the endorsements, all of the organization, and almost all of the money. Yet, the favorite came uncomfortably close to losing to the mayor of a postage stamp-sized community who, apart from some undistinguished late mail, was virtually invisible. What happened? Firebaugh's supporters say Elvira de Guzman benefited from a strong ballot designation (as a local mayor) and her status as the only woman in a field of male candidates. They also point to Firebaugh's somewhat Anglo-sounding last name, a detriment in the district with the state's heaviest concentration of Latinos. But Firebaugh's opponents say there was another reason — the heavy-handedness of his patrons. A lengthy piece in the *Los Angeles Times* recounted complaints by both de Guzman and school teacher Alfredo Hernandez, who said Firebaugh's backers tried to hound them out of the race. A South Gate councilman said he withdrew from the race after a personal intervention on Firebaugh's behalf by Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. The controversy, which hit in the last three weeks of the race, may have contributed to Firebaugh's relatively lackluster performance, but he'll have plenty of time to mend fences, after his eventual election to the seat this November.

District 51 (68% D - 16% R)

Vincent (D)*	**28,965**	**(100)**
Acherman (R)	**8.961**	**(100)**
Frankel (G)	**2,366**	**(100)**

Incumbent Ed Vincent's willingness to embrace big tobacco as his political ally would cause him problems in a more competitive district.

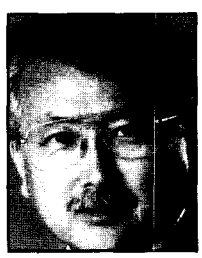
District 52 (75% D - 10% R)

Washington (D)*	**23,796**	**(100)**

At the outset of the campaign, GOP gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren said he wanted to see a Republican candidate running in every urban Assembly race, no matter what the odds. But running in a hugely Democratic district against an upbeat incumbent who just happens to be a preacher was too much to ask.

District 53 (42% D - 39% R)

Fathe (D)	4,639	(10)
Fournier (D)	1,395	(3)
Nakano (D)	**20,215**	**(42)**
O'Brien (D)	3,302	(7)
Pinzler (D)	4,739	(10)
Wirth (D)	3,234	(7)
Zeidler (D)	10,184	(21)
Eggers (R)	**24,579**	**(100)**


Nakano

Zeidler

With the clock winding down on centrist incumbent Debra Bowen's third term, the GOP's reclamation of the seat Bowen first won in 1992 seemed to be little more than a formality. Democrats enjoyed only a meaningless three-point registration edge, and Bowen's brand of maverick populism seemed difficult to clone. Still, the numbers didn't stop a passel of Democrats, most with at least a modest amount of support, from entering the race. Business attorney Chris O'Brien made an early splash with some colorful mail, but his fund raising lagged, and eventually so did the campaign. Redondo Beach Councilman Bob Pinzler, whose wife

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worked for Bowen, also managed a relatively modest mail campaign. But the Bowen connection didn't help as the incumbent remained neutral in the race, and Finzler wound up barely beating college professor Laurie Fathe, the only woman in the race. Ultimately, the contest devolved to a battle between the two top fund raisers, Torrance Councilman George Nakano and Redondo Beach School Board President Zeke Zeidler. Zeidler dominated the mail, sending out more than a dozen different pieces, including some targeting Republicans. The mail touted the accomplishments of his school district, one of the highest-performing in the state. Nakano came nowhere close to matching Zeidler's mail campaign, but he had strong name identification in his base in Torrance. Nakano also had some district-wide name ID, stemming from his competitive 1994 primary campaign against octogenarian Senator Ralph Dills. Nakano also secured the backing of Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. The endorsement largely was viewed as a peace offering to Assemblyman Mike Honda, who was pushing hard for the speaker to endorse Asian candidate Judy Chu in the 49th. In a year when experience was king, Nakano's background and backing made him hard to beat. Originally, there was to have been a Republican primary as well, but the GOP's first choice to run for the seat — moderate Bill Beverly — didn't get enough signatures on his filing papers. So the lone Republican is Bill Eggers, a researcher for the conservative Reason Foundation, by way of the very conservative Heritage Foundation. On the surface, Eggers would seem like a disaster for the GOP — Bowen's initial 1992 victory came at the hands of ultra-conservative Brad Parton. But Eggers' particular brand of conservatism has a decidedly libertarian cast, a perspective which includes support for abortion rights. If his social views prove to be relatively moderate, Democrats will have a harder time painting Eggers as a Parton clone. But the same name identification advantages which helped Nakano in the spring will also help him in the fall, and his convincing win in a relatively bloodless Democratic primary gives Nakano a bump going into the drive toward November.

District 54 (45% D - 39% R)		
Lowenthal (D)	**21,171**	**(87)**
Sonnen (D)	3,265	(13)
Alban (R)	**18,590**	**(44)**
Drummond (R)	9,674	(23)
Lyon (R)	12,638	(30)
Personius (R)	1,696	(4)
Drake (AI)	613	(100)
Carlan (L)	**1,273**	**(100)**

Alban

Lyon

If the trend in many races was to reject self-financed candidates running on their "real world experience," then Julie Alban certainly bucked the trend in beating not one but two elected officials. But then, Alban's real world experience was unlike that of the Al Checchis of the world. The daughter of a prominent Long Beach surgeon, Alban was paralyzed 10 years ago after being shot by a boyfriend. She dusted herself off, earned a law degree and became a prosecutor and domestic-abuse activist. But a whole new crucible awaited Alban when she entered the race to replace incumbent Steve Kuykendall, who ran for Congress. Although her story received national attention when it happened, Alban badly trailed both Long Beach Councilman Doug Drummond and Rancho Palos Verdes Councilwoman Marilyn Lyon. Lyon had clearly been preparing for Kuykendall's departure, seeding her campaign with personal resources and raising money through her Republican Party ties. Drummond had the advantage of name identification but got off to a slow start in fund raising. Neither could match what Alban brought to the table, as her late entry was accompanied by a $250,000 grub stake. Alban didn't hesitate to capitalize on her personal story — one mailer bluntly asked "who knows more about crime than someone who was shot in the back?" But Lyons' mail was equally blunt, hitting Alban for her relative inexperience. In the last month, Lyon began to roar, with a mailer suggesting Alban was merely a prop for her physician father, Sy Alban, who had run for the seat in 1990. But Lyon was really hurt by an independent expenditure which sought to tie Alban with "labor bosses" and depicted a Trojan Horse — on wheels. Although the picture itself wasn't obvious, disabled rights advocates decried what they saw as an attempt to capitalize on Alban's disability, and many picketed Lyon's Long Beach campaign headquarters during the campaign's final week. Although his fund raising never really got going, Drummond did manage to hang in near the top of many polls. But the boomerang effect of the Trojan Horse mailer sank both him and Lyon. With the appealing Alban as their candidate, the GOP has a standard bearer who is arguably stronger than incumbent Kuykendall might have been. Long Beach Councilman Alan Lowenthal is the Democrats' choice, and he will again set up the inside vs. outside dynamic — one that Alban has beaten once.

District 55 (66% D - 17% R)		
Floyd (D)*	**15,951**	**(55)**
Francois (D)	2,935	(10)
Robinson (D)	10,309	(35)
Eslinger (R)	**6,443**	**(100)**
Wilson (L)	**1,176**	**(100)**

In the culture of the state Legislature, incumbent Dick Floyd is Dennis Rodman without the hair — a decidedly self-styled iconoclast. His off-putting demeanor and penchant for missing votes bought him some trouble as he drew two primary challengers, including 1996 opponent Carl Robinson, a Compton Community College trustee. Robinson, who had the backing of Representative Maxine Waters, attacked Floyd for his voting record and for his lack of a high school degree. Robinson and Francois, both black, also courted ethnic voters against the white incumbent in a district that is one of the most diverse in the state. But it all went for naught, as the in-your-face Floyd still had the benefits of incumbency working in his favor.

District 56 (51% D - 34% R)		
Havice (D)*	**26,771**	**(100)**
Hawkins (R)	**25,768**	**(100)**
McKenzie (L)	**1,793**	**(100)**

In the battle for this blue collar district, the blanket primary offered a preview of coming attractions, and it wasn't attractive for incumbent Democrat Sally Havice. A former school trustee who barely won the seat two years ago, Havice polled four points below the district's Democratic registration, com-

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Havice

Hawkins

ing in under 50 percent of the vote and only about 1,000 votes ahead of Republican Phil Hawkins. Hawkins himself had won the seat in 1994 before vacating it for an unsuccessful state Senate run in 1996. His desertion gave Havice the opening in 1996, but she hasn't exactly set Sacramento on fire. Of course, neither did Hawkins in his brief stint. Democrats insist Havice is well liked in her district and a hard worker. But Hawkins has a proven success record and close ties with the California Independent Business PAC and other conservative financial backers. If the race remains as close in the fall as it is now, Havice's saving grace might be the presence of Libertarian Bruce McKenzie, who likely would siphon more votes away from Hawkins than from Havice. But given her weak showing in the primary, she'll need more than a spoiler to insure a return trip to Sacramento.

District 57 (56% D - 26% R)		
Fallon (D)	8,308	(30)
Gallegos (D)*	**19,233**	**(70)**
Gonzales (R)	**9,512**	**(100)**

Incumbent Martin Gallegos is a licensed chiropractor whose campaign needed very little "adjustment" to overcome a modest challenge from La Puente Councilwoman Sally Fallon.

District 58 (62% D - 24% R)		
Calderon (D)	**31,141**	**(84)**
Mayer (D)	6,123	(16)
Nunez (R)	**12,190**	**(100)**

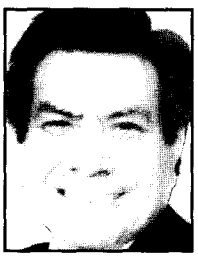
As was the case with 50th Assembly District winner Marco Firebaugh, school board member Tom Calderon had plenty of outside help in clearing the primary field for this Latino-influenced district being vacated by future Congresswoman Grace Napolitano. Unlike Firebaugh, though, Calderon was more successful, thanks in no small measure to family ties — his brother is Senator Charles Calderon. Only water board member Rick Mayer stood in his path and while Mayer boasted some labor support, he was no match for the overwhelming force of the region's Latino power base.

District 59 (39% D - 45% R)		
Christiansen (D)	**24,878**	**(100)**
Margett (R)*	**38,897**	**(100)**
Johnson (L)	**1,896**	**(100)**
Allison (NL)	**1,524**	**(100)**

Not enough Democrats here to give Margett much of a sweat.

District 60 (43% D - 40% R)		
Wong (D)	**17,567**	**(100)**
Hsu (R)	3,859	(10)
Huff (R)	7,669	(20)
Pacheco (R)	**14,230**	**(38)**
Radlovic (R)	12,274	(32)
Faegre (L)	**1,071**	**(100)**

Radlovic


Pacheco

The Republican primary in this seat at the eastern edge of Los Angeles County is another example of how bad things were for self-financed "outsider" candidates. Going into the GOP primary, most early betting favored golden boy Mike Radlovic as the heir to incumbent Gary Miller, who opted for a congressional run. Radlovic, a businessman whose father was influential in local Republican circles, had extensive personal resources, and dropped more than $100,000 into the race. Up against Radlovic in the primary were three local government figures — school board member Norman Hsu, Diamond Bar Councilman Bob Huff, and Walnut Councilman Robert Pacheco. It would have been a dream contest for Radlovic had he been running in 1994, when Michael Huffington (for whom Radlovic briefly worked) came within an eyelash of beating Senator Dianne Feinstein. But in 1998 the tide had turned against the rich outsider, and Pacheco — who pumped in more than $40,000 of his own into the race — made much of his local ties and experience in the campaign. Despite the presence of two other local government officials on the GOP ledger, and West Covina Councilman Ben Wong on the Democratic side, Pacheco still handily beat Radlovic. While registration still heavily favors the GOP, there are some who see this as a possible target for Democrats. Two years ago, Miller managed only 52 percent of the vote in the general election against an all-but-invisible Democratic opponent. Moreover, the district is undergoing a demographic shift. But Pacheco's Latino roots resonated with the increasingly diverse population, while Wong only managed 31 percent of the blanket primary vote. Wong had the smarts to hire Democratic consultant Gale Kaufman, who is fresh off a big win guiding the "No on 226" campaign. But Wong still has a few mountains to climb if he's to knock the GOP off its perch.

District 61 (45% D - 39% R)		
McLeod (D)	9,325	(47)
Soto (D)	**10,582**	**(53)**
DeMallie (R)	**7,879**	**(37)**
Skropos (R)	6,413	(30)
Thalman (R)	4,630	(22)
Wickman (R)	2,459	(12)

DeMallie

Skropos

In the GOP primary to replace termed-out Republican Fred Aguiar, all four candidates boasted some credentials as local elected officials, but the nod went to the most conservative among them — Cucamonga School Board member Bob DeMallie. He bested Ontario Mayor Gus Skropos, who was thought to be the early favorite due to his name identification and his bank account. But that was before DeMallie's conservative friends weighed in to help level the financial playing field. Both candidates ended up spending about $110,000. Among those to come to DeMallie's aid were Howard Ahmanson Jr., who chipped in $15,000. He also got chunks of change from the NRA, Gun Owners of California and the Conservative Attorneys for Civil Justice — a group of GOP trial lawyers. Senators Ray Haynes and Richard Mountjoy also backed DeMallie, as did the California Republican Assembly. Skropos' mail hit DeMallie on his ties to conservative groups; DeMallie responded by calling attention to Skropos' cozy relationship

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with area developers and reminding voters of a 1995 recall effort against Skropos over the issue of cardroom gambling in Ontario, which Skropos supported. In the end, DeMallie may have outhustled Skropos on the ground, thanks to an extensive volunteer effort staffed by CPA members and others. Both frontrunners virtually ignored the other candidate in the race — Chino Hills City Councilman Jim Thalman, who finished third. His Chino Hills Council colleague, Mike Wickman, dropped out of the race early due to his wife's illness. Because he is the most conservative of the candidates, DeMallie's victory puts this district into play for the fall, despite its GOP heritage. Democrat Nell Soto, a Latina and wife of former Assemblyman Phil Soto, easily won her primary and may have full backing from Assembly Democrats in a district where Latinos are gaining electoral strength.

District 62 (38% D - 28% R)

Arias (D)	5,429	(20)
Gaytan (D)	2,428	(9)
Longville (D)	**8,405**	**(30)**
Martinez (D)	7,125	(26)
Escobar (R)	**7,601**	**(100)**

Escobar

Longville

Want an example of the value of "experience" as a campaign theme? Look no further than John Longville's victory in the race to succeed termed-out Democrat Joe Baca. Longville, long the mayor of Rialto, ran for this seat in 1992, finishing a distant third to Baca. But this time, his credentials as a local elected official helped offset the money poured into the campaign of Al Martinez, darling of the California Correctional Peace Officers Association. CCPOA backed Martinez to the tune of $300,000, but the former prison guard and current parole supervisor had zero experience in government and zero name recognition in this San Bernardino County district. The money and hard work helped build Martinez into a credible candidate, but in the end, voters opted for the known quantity. Martinez also was hurt by the presence of two other Latinos in the contest. One of them, Colton Mayor Karl Gaytan, actually withdrew in mid-March and endorsed Longville, but his name remained on the ballot. San Bernardino City Councilwoman Rita Arias stayed in the hunt, but her shoestring campaign could not match Martinez' money and Longville's experience and endorsements — which included area Congressman George Brown. With Longville's victory, this district comes into play for the fall. Had Martinez won, the GOP likely would have walked away rather than take on one of its traditional allies in the CCOPA. Longville, however, presents an inviting target, and Republicans plan an active campaign for businesswoman Irma Escobar. This is, after all, GOP elections poobah Jim Brulte's backyard.

Martinez

District 63 (39% D - 46% R)

Leonard (R)*	**46,411**	**(100)**
Lindberg (L)	**14,575**	**(100)**

Assembly GOP Leader Bill Leonard is in no trouble in his district come November, but those are interesting vote totals nonetheless. Nearly one in four voters on Leonard's home turf chose the other candidate — even though she was a Libertarian. Not that Maureen Lindberg will make Leonard sweat the fall. He'll sweat plenty, but it will be over results from other parts of the state in this, his first electoral test as head of the Assembly caucus.

District 64 (42% D - 43% R)

Pacheco (R)*	**40,521**	**(100)**

Freshman Rod Pacheco won't be so lonely come December when three other Latinos may join him as members of the Republican caucus.

District 65 (39% D - 46% R)

Quinto (D)	**19,355**	**(100)**
Granlund (R)*	**32,519**	**(80)**
Grimes (R)	2,810	(7)
O'Brien (R)	5,317	(13)
Renteria (NL)	**1,719**	**(100)**

Retired Judge David O'Brien mounted yet another primary challenge to two-term incumbent Brett Granlund. Two years ago, O'Brien grabbed 30 percent of the vote. This year, O'Brien barely registered.

District 66 (32% D - 52% R)

Hockersmith (D)	**25,620**	**(100)**
Thompson (R)*	**46,467**	**(100)**

If blanket primaries are snapshots of the general election, Democrat Patsy Hockersmith may savor some small solace from the potential outcome in November. In both of her previous attempts to win this seat, she lost by 34,000 votes. If the above pattern holds, she'll only lose this time by 21,000 votes.

District 67 (33% D - 50% R)

Fennell (D)	**8,572**	**(59)**
Nashashibi (D)	6,016	(41)
Allen (R)	8,702	(16)
Baugh (R)*	**23,126**	**(42)**
Conlosh (R)	8,362	(15)
Hastings (R)	6,815	(12)
Rocha (R)	2,334	(4)
Tillotson (R)	6,331	(11)
Browne (L)	**2,059**	**(100)**

Baugh

Incumbent Scott Baugh's legal problems from the 1995 Doris Allen recall election still haunt him, as evidenced by his five GOP challengers. The notable ones were Allen, whom Baugh replaced, and millionaire developer Haydee Tillotson, who competed in the '95 campaign until local conservatives pressured her out of the race to avoid splitting the GOP vote. Allen did next to nothing this time around after blowing $10,000 to get her name on the primary ballot. The Secretary of State's office initially threw out Allen's candidacy, saying she had reached her limit under the state's term-limit law, but the ruling was overturned in court. Allen, who's been living in Sacramento since her recall, had to move back into the district for the primary, which made it difficult to raise money. Funding was not a problem for Tillotson, whose personal wealth allowed her to pour over $200,000 into a mail campaign attacking Baugh. The effort failed miserably as Tillotson limped in fifth. Some faulted her for going on the attack too soon without first building up herself as a viable alternative. As for Baugh, the primary victory leaves him set for re-election — assuming he's not forced to resign from office as a result of a felony conviction stemming from campaign law violations. Trial is set for September.

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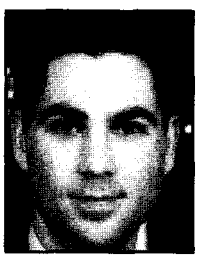
District 68 (39% D - 43% R)		
Matsuda (D)	**15,217**	**(100)**
Chung (R)	8,101	(24)
Gonzales (R)	2,016	(6)
Kellogg (R)	8,063	(23)
Maddox (R)	**11,769**	**(34)**
Neugebauer (R)	4,541	(13)

Chung

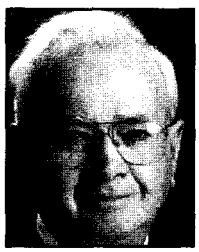
Kellogg


Maddox

In politics, there are negative campaigns that work and those that don't. Put attorney John Kellogg's campaign in the latter column. In his effort to succeed incumbent Curt Pringle, Kellogg, who enjoyed the support of Senator Rob Hurtt and Assemblymen Scott Baugh and Jim Morrissey. He was thought to be neck-and-neck with Garden Grove Councilman Ken Maddox — Pringle's horse — going into the final turn. Then Kellogg dropped two mailers that claimed that Maddox, a Tustin police officer, had associations with child molesters — a claim based on Maddox's purchased spot on a major GOP slate mailer organized by someone with a past record of child molestation. Maddox complained to the Orange County Republican Central Committee, which took the unprecedented step of censuring Kellogg for the bogus claim. Not only did the blunder get aired by the press, it also cost Kellogg the endorsements of Baugh and Morrissey. Baugh subsequently endorsed Maddox, while Morrissey remained neutral. Kellogg's campaign also heard it from Republicans outside the county because the slate he attacked had Dan Lungren's name on it. Consequently, Kellogg wound up finishing a distant third behind Maddox and Garden Grove Councilman Ho Chung. Although he failed to garner any legislative backing, Chung racked up a bevy of endorsements from local officials and received substantial financial help from the district's Asian community. Chung, in fact, raised more money than either Maddox or Kellogg, who relied heavily on loans to fund his campaign. Because of the advantage in GOP registration, Maddox should have no trouble winning again in November against teacher Mike Matsuda.

District 69 (51% D - 33% R)		
Correa (D)	**11,415**	**(100)**
Morrissey (R)*	**13,470**	**(100)**
Schultz (L)	**605**	**(100)**
Benson (RF)	**626**	**(100)**

Correa


Morrissey

Election night was something of a mixed blessing for Assemblyman Jim Morrissey. On one hand, he polled 52 percent among all voters — a measure that incumbents tout after uncontested primaries to show their electoral virility. At the same time, former Representative Bob Dornan — who has incited the wrath of Latinos with his claims of voter fraud — won the GOP nomination in the 46th Congressional District, which overlaps Morrissey's seat. Having Dornan running in the area is not what Morrissey needs, not in a district that is more than 50 percent Latino and not with a Latino for a Democratic opponent. Attorney Lou Correa, who lost by 93 votes to Morrissey in 1996, will try to link the incumbent and Dornan at the hip. But it won't be easy, given Morrissey's dogged precinct walking, especially in Latino neighborhoods where he makes use of his bilingualism. District registration favors Democrats, but that hasn't stopped Morrissey in the past. In any event, this race will be the featured "ground zero" battle to see who controls the Assembly next year. Republicans must retain this seat if they're to wrestle control from Democrats, while Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa has pledged to give Correa whatever he needs.

District 70 (28% D - 54% R)		
Brewer (R)*	**52,372**	**(100)**
Adam (NL)	**13,677**	**(100)**

Uh, Marilyn Brewer, uh, likely will, uh, win re-election.

District 71 (27% D - 57% R)		
Badger (D)	**18,664**	**(100)**
Campbell (R)*	**54,463**	**(100)**
Bryant (NL)	**3,077**	**(100)**

Not many Republican legislators in the country enjoy this kind of registration edge.

District 72 (31% D - 54% R)		
Legas (D)	**17,545**	**(100)**
Ackerman (R)*	**43,933**	**(100)**
Meierding (L)	**2,683**	**(100)**

It was nice of the Democrats and Libertarians to offer up candidates this time. They didn't in 1996, and a look at the primary results tells you why.

District 73 (29% D - 52% R)		
Wilberg (D)	**13,135**	**(100)**
Apodaca (R)	10,245	(20)
Bates (R)	**22,896**	**(44)**
Lacy (R)	19,113	(37)
Rollins (L)	**1,830**	**(100)**
Ornati (NL)	**678**	**(100)**

Bates

Lacy

This was a key district for a group of GOP-oriented trial lawyers riding under the banner of the Conservative Attorneys for Civil Justice. Their aim: To distingush themselves from their Democratic-leaning brethren by supporting select GOP candidates. Tax attorney Jim Lacy raked in $80,000 from CACJ, which accounted for over half of his money and was by far the most CACJ gave to any Assembly candidate. Lacy also enjoyed the support of conservatives like Assemblyman Tom McClintock and Oliver North — a plus in a district that includes Camp Pendleton Marine Base. Lacy didn't win the endorsements of Orange County conservatives, like Senate GOP Leader Ross Johnson or district incumbent Bill Morrow, who backed Laguna Niguel Mayor Patricia Bates. Morrow's endorsement came late and was something of a surprise, given his original intent to stay neutral. But that was before Lacy started taking in money from trial lawyers, whom Morrow distrusts. The CACJ money also brought Bates lots of help from special interests wary of attorneys — namely

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insurance companies, tort-reform advocates and health-care professionals — which checked in with $100,000 on her behalf. That help gave Bates the resources to run piece after piece against Lacy in the closing days of the campaign, hitting him for his coziness to trial lawyers. Bates also benefited, like many candidates in the primary, from being an elected official. That factor wasn't enough for San Clemente Councilman Steve Apodaca, who ran a distant third. Apodaca relied exclusively on local endorsements and raised only $30,000 in cash. He tried using the "car tax" issue but, like candidates elsewhere, discovered the issue was a dud.

District 74 (31% D - 49% R)		
Fitzgerald (D)	**24,068**	**(100)**
Kaloogian (R)*	**42,066**	**(100)**
Dorsey (L)	**1,925**	**(100)**
Gentsch (NI)	**2,135**	**(100)**

For the first time, incumbent Howard Kaloogian has no significant challenge.

District 75 (30% D - 50% R)		
Debus (D)	**14,203**	**(100)**
Anderson (R)	18,245	(32)
Price (R)	13,298	(23)
Zettel (R)	**25,396**	**(45)**
Tello (L)	**2,836**	**(100)**
Cowling (NI)	**1,542**	**(100)**

Price

Zettel

You want to talk money? How does $1 million sound? Great, if you're expecting a visit from Publishers' Clearing House. But $1 million to win an Assembly seat? That's what the three Republicans likely spent in this safely GOP San Diego-area district, vacated by termed-out Jan Goldsmith. And how was it spent? Radio, mailers, billboards, mailers, bumper stickers, mailers, more ads, a few mailers, a few more mailers and, finally, mailers. After the bucks blizzard subsided, Charlene Zettel emerged victorious over a pair of conservative men — Joel Anderson and Mark Price. Zettel's advantage? "Experience." A moderate, pro-choice Latina, Zettel served two terms on the Poway Unified School Board, which was experience enough compared with opponents who had zilch. It also helped Zettel that Anderson and Price bashed each other for the district's considerable conservative vote. The campaign turned nasty in the final days, with Zettel the target of mailers from both Price and Anderson. One mailer, from Price, claimed that Poway schools had a high dropout rate. In fact, the rate is miniscule. Zettel returned fire with a zinger that claimed that Price owed back taxes — which he does not. And so on. In the end, Zettel may have won because conservatives could not agree on a candidate. Anderson had the backing of Assemblymen Steve Baldwin, Howard Kaloogian, Bill Morrow and Bruce Thompson, as well as Senator Ray Haynes, gun owners, Paul Gann's Citizens Commitee and the California Pro-Life Council. Price, had the endorsement of the conservative Califor-

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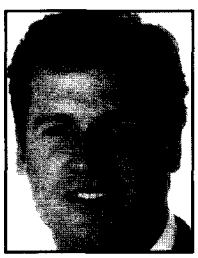
nia Republican Assembly. And the money? Price self-funded to the tune of over $300,000. Anderson banked close to $200,000 from his conservative supporters, including Howard Ahmanson Jr. and Senator Rob Hurtt. Zettel loaned herself $170,000, plus raked in an equal amount from Sacramento-based PACs. Zettel likely will win in November and become the first Latina ever to sit on the GOP side of the aisle.

District 76 (41% D - 37% R)		
Davis (D)*	**39,158**	**(100)**
Admire (R)	**13,861**	**(51)**
Escher-Davis (R)	13,405	(49)
Teyssier (L)	**2,183**	**(100)**


Admire

Escher-Davis

The mud started flying early in the Republican primary, where a pair of candidates battled for the right to take on two-term incumbent Democrat Susan Davis this fall. Linda Escher-Davis, a nurse with a long history of GOP activism in this San Diego-area district, began complaining from the get-go that her opponent, attorney Duane Admire, was a front for trial lawyers backing GOP candidates across the state. As a result, the sworn enemies of trial lawyers — insurance companies and tort-reform advocates — helped to bankroll her campaign. Admire's help from trial lawyers turned out to be illusionary; except for his inclusion on their slate mailer, they reported having given him no money. Admire, meanwhile, charged Escher-Davis with carpetbagging, given that she was born and educated in the East. Unfortunately for Admire, she had lived in the area for 15 years while Admire himself had only recently moved into San Diego from Northern California. Admire also put out a misleading mailer, claiming endorsements from the likes of Dan Lungren and area Congressman Randy Cunningham. Turns out, Admire pirated language from letters of praise written to him by the pair in conjunction with his work with the Boy Scouts — not as a candidate. In the end, Admire squeaked out a 400-vote victory. And one could make the case that, if Democrats anywhere were going to organize crossover voting in a GOP primary, it would be here, for Admire is all that incumbent Democrat Susan Davis could have hoped for as an opponent. Politically, he strongly resembles the candidate that Davis defeated in 1994 and 1996 — Bob Trettin. This part of San Diego has shown a partiality for women in elections past, which is why most of the area's GOP establishment backed Escher-Davis. Still, enough Democrats and others voted for Davis to give her 57 percent of the overall primary vote — an indication of strength that Admire, a political neophyte with little base in the district, will find hard to overcome.

District 77 (39% D - 41% R)		
Carlson (D)	**21,977**	**(100)**
Baldwin (R)*	**37,464**	**(100)**
Metti (L)	1,042	(33)
Meyers (L)	**2,177**	**(67)**

The only contest of any note in this district — either in the primary or the general election — was the primary battle between Michael Metti and Elizabeth Meyers for the Libertarian.

District 78 (38% D - 39% R)		
Wayne (D)*	**34,799**	**(100)**
Roesch (R)	**15,241**	**(43)**
Shelby (R)	10,227	(29)
Wildman (R)	9,987	(28)
Murphy (L)	**2,042**	**(100)**
Knoles (NL)	**1,485**	**(100)**

Wayne

Roesch

If results on primary night were a warm and fuzzy dream for Democratic incumbent Susan Davis in the neighboring 76th, they were something of a nightmare for one-term Democrat Howard Wayne. Not only did Wayne receive under 50 percent of the popular vote — a benchmark for vulnerability in blanket primaries — but the worst possible candidate won the GOP contest. Worst, that is, for Wayne. Wayne won this seat two years ago by squeaking past former Assemblywoman Tricia Hunter, a moderate thought to be a shoo-in for victory. But Wayne was able to tear down Hunter. A registered nurse and former activist in the California Nurses Association, Hunter had, as a lawmaker, voted against a bill to tax tobacco products in order to fund breast-cancer research. That brought her old colleagues in the CNA, among others, in on behalf of Wayne. Republican nominee Jean Roesch has no such skeletons rattling around in her past. If anything, her electoral base — and she has one — dovetails nicely with a premier issue this year — education. A school counselor, she has served on the Coronado Unified School District board for more than a decade. Although her electoral base encompasses less than 20 percent of the district, she was able to raise her name identification substantially during a heavily contested primary. In that race, she bested a pair of conservative men — Myke Shelby, a New York transplant who owns San Diego Harley-Davidson; and Rick Wildman, an attorney and brother of Democratic Assemblyman Scott Wildman of the Glendale-based 43rd District. Roesch's victory was another example of experience making a difference — a moderate pro-choice educator with long experience on a school board, against a pair of conservatives with zero track records of public service. Roesch now provides the most formidable Republican to run for this seat this decade. Senator Dede Alpert held it until 1996, always scoring impressive victories over men. Wayne, a former deputy attorney general, is a sincere but uncharismatic campaigner, and after viewing his primary performance, expect Republicans to move him way way way up on their target list.

District 79 (55% D - 23% R)		
Ducheny (D)*	**24,790**	**(100)**
Kinz (R)	**7,881**	**(100)**

An oh-so-quiet election season for Denise Ducheny.

District 80 (46% D - 40% R)		
Acuna (D)	**22,395**	**(100)**
Battin (R)*	**35,344**	**(100)**
Weber (L)	**2,946**	**(100)**

Incumbent Jim Battin survived some nasty publicity over a few freebies he had accepted after his first election in 1994. The Fair Political Practices Commission fined him, but voters didn't consider Battin's rookie mistakes very serious. He captured 58 percent of the overall vote and likely will not be bothered much in the fall.

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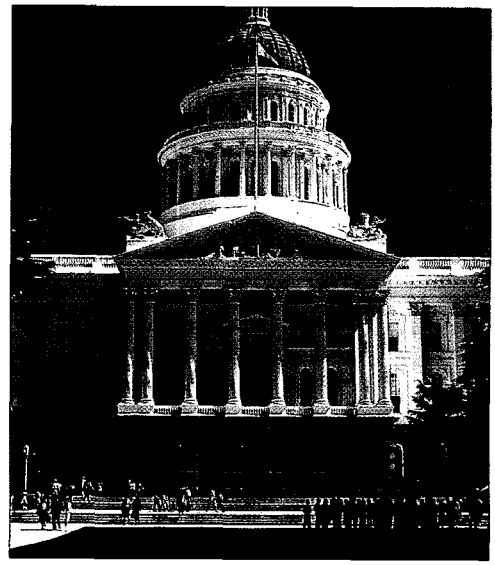
ARCO

Back in the late 80's the California state government agencies had a pretty good idea what they wanted to do to reduce air pollution: ban the use of gasoline in favor of alternative fuels and enact the toughest pollution standards the world had ever seen. But they hesitated, because no one was really sure if alternative fuels would work or what the cost might be. Meanwhile, ARCO was hard at work on a new kind of gasoline called EC-1, the world's lowest emission gasoline ever.

Arco's new formula showed how to reduce pollution from gasoline, while maintaining its performance.

EC-1 was so effective at reducing pollution, especially with pre-catalytic cars, it actually removed 100 million pounds of pollutants from the skies of California the first year it was in use.



March, 1996: California enacted the toughest emission standards in the world. Partly because ARCO's reformulated gasoline proved they were possible.

But even more important, it showed California and the federal government that significant emission reductions could be achieved using conventional fuels thereby saving motorists millions of dollars they didn't have to spend replacing their existing cars.

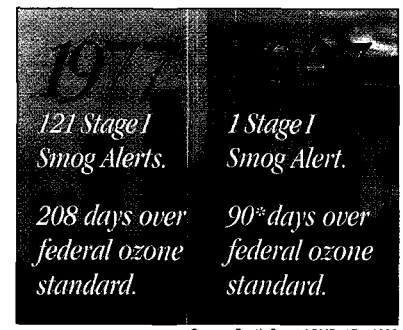
ARCO, working with the California Air Resources Board and other stakeholders, helped to develop the model for the second generation of reformulated gasoline which is now used by every driver in California.

The impact on our air has been nothing less than remarkable.

Thanks to California's cleaner burning gasoline, more than 3 million pounds of pollutants a day are being eliminated. About the same as taking 3.5 million cars off the road.

According to independent scientists, the air is the cleanest it's been in decades. In 1977, the South Coast Basin had 121 Stage I Smog Alerts. In 1997, they were reduced to only one.

Of course, there's a long way to go before we reach our clean air goals. In 1996, despite the 57% reduction in days exceeding the federal clean air standards for ozone, the South Coast Basin still experienced 90 days over the federal standard.


1977
121 Stage I Smog Alerts.
208 days over federal ozone standard.
1996
1 Stage I Smog Alert.
90* days over federal ozone standard.

Source: South Coast AQMD. *For 1996

But ARCO and other oil companies have proven that they can work together with the state, local air districts, auto manufacturers, environmentalists and other stakeholders to achieve the toughest air quality standards in the world.

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